ABSTRACT

Durham Castle is an important but sadly neglected building; the medieval remains, especially those of the Norman period, are, however, substantial.

The standing buildings are toured in Chapter 1, giving each a description and reviewing the accepted date of construction; examining sub-floor evidence and previous excavations. A brief description of the Outer Bailey is included.

The early historical sources are reviewed in Chapter 2. The scarcity of early records is noted. The main sources are Symeon and Laurence of Durham both twelfth century.

Chapter 3 gives a brief overview of the histories from the post-medieval period and up to Gee in 1928. The history by the Watsons is shown to be an important work that may contain early material not found elsewhere.

Chapter 4 reviews the survival of the visual record, particularly three paintings at the castle which can be dated to around 1700 AD. Attention is drawn to a neglected work by Bok. It is an accurate view of Durham at around 1660 and thus the earliest view surviving. In the later period the best source of information are the drawings of Grimm dating to the 1770s.

Chapter 5 draws together the strands of information from the previous chapters. Problems of reconstruction are examined and alternatives reviewed. Chapter 6 suggests a phase by phase reconstruction of the early development with parallels drawn from both contemporary castles and palaces.

In Chapter 7 Durham is set in context and future work suggested. Durham is examined as a palace and as a castle and both labels are rejected. A review of terminology and approach is called for.

The origins and development of Durham Castle to AD 1217:

the archaeological and architectural record

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University of Durham: Department of Archaeology

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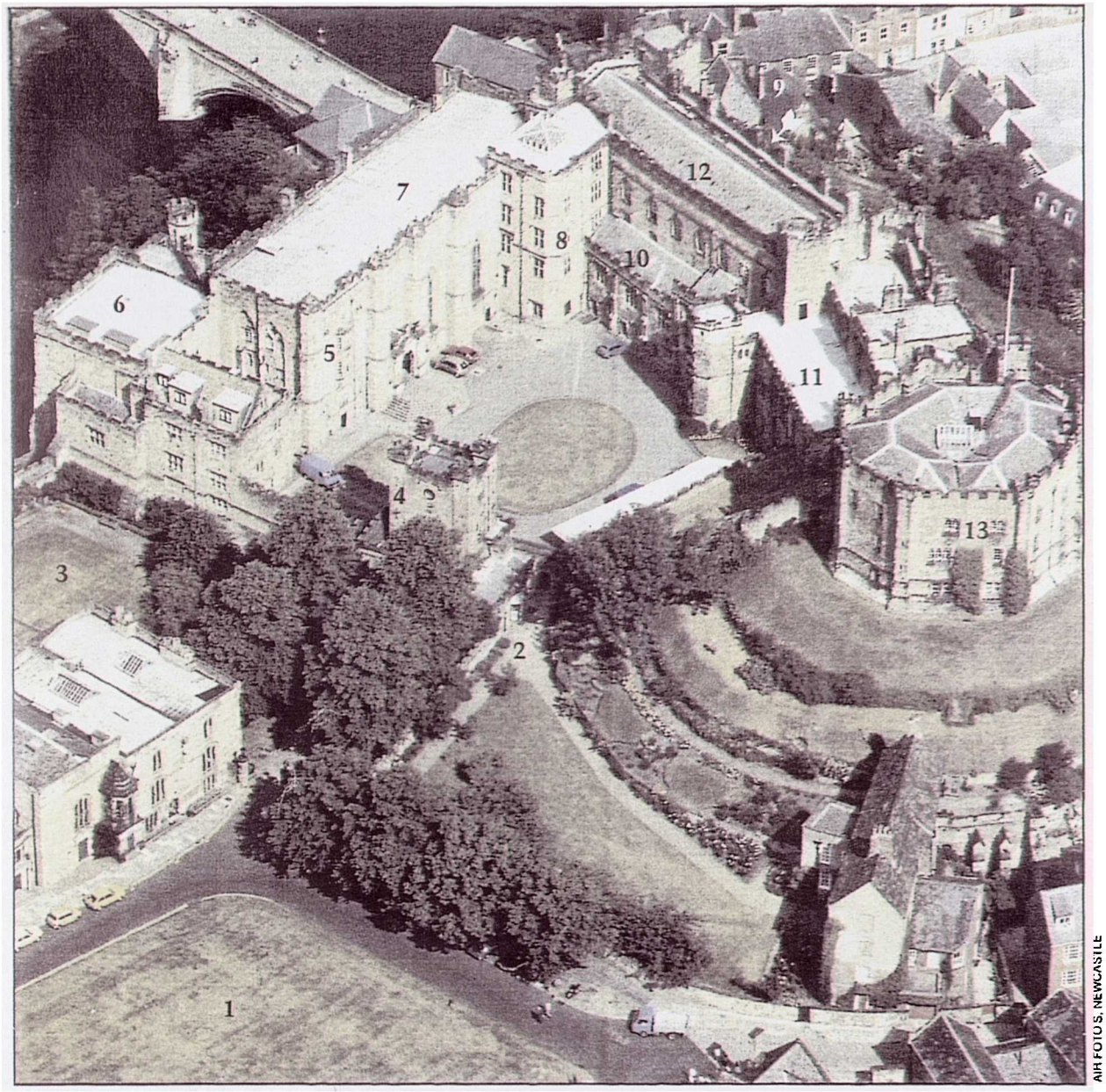

Photograph of Durham Castle

1. Palace Green
2. Site of Drawbridge & Barbican
3. Fellows' Garden
4. Gatehouse
5. Library
6. Kitchen
7. Great Hall
8. Cosin's Staircase
9. North Terrace
10. Tunstal's Gallery
11. Tunstal's Chapel
12. State Rooms
13. Keep

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES IN APPENDIX E

LIST OF PLANS

(all plans are in Appendix G; the phase plans follow the main plans)

N.B Those plans marked DUDASC (REST) are from the Durham University department of Archives and Special Collections and were prepared by the Clerk of Works for the work of the restoration of the Castle

PLAN A. Durham Castle with the present principal rooms and features labelled.

PLAN B. Durham Castle in 1796 by Lambert

PLAN C. Durham Castle in the eighteenth century

PLAN D. Archaeological investigations in the Barbican

PLAN E. Plan of Courtyard, locating photographs

PLAN F. Garden Stairs wall trench

PLAN G. Kitchen Area, locating photographs

PLAN H. Great Hall area, locating photographs

PLAN J. The Undercroft at the present day

PLAN K. The Undercroft pre-1967

PLAN L. North Range, locating photographs

PLAN M Norman Gallery, locating photographs DUDASC (REST)

PLAN N. Upper part of Chapel Building

PLAN O. Lower part of Chapel Building

PLAN P. Investigations to west of Chapel

PLAN Q. Heating Trench Courtyard

PLAN R. The Outer Bailey and Peninsula defences

PLAN S. The Jones plan of 1904

PHASE PLANS

I. Phase Plan of lower part of Castle buildings

II. Phase Plan of upper part of Castle buildings

III. Bishop Walcher (1072 - 1080)

IV. Bishop St. Calais (1080 - 1096)

V. Bishop Flambard (1099 - 1128)

VI. Bishop Du Puiset (1153 - 1195)

LIST OF ELEVATIONS IN APPENDIX H

N.B. Those elevations marked DUDASC (REST) are from the Durham University Department of Archives and Special Collections and were prepared by the Clerk of works for the work of the restorations of the Castle

1. East-west section of Castle
2. North-south section of Castle
3. Section through Barbican roadway
4. West door in West Gate tower
5. Key to Elevation 4
6. Fellow's Garden Wall DUDASC (REST)
7. East end of Chapel Lodgings, ground floor (after Simpson and Hatley)
8. Section of Motte (after Simpson and Hatley)
9. East elevation of Great Hall DUDASC (REST)
10. West wall of the Undercroft
11. Undercroft Arcade
12. South elevation of the North Hall DUDASC (REST)
13. North elevation of the North Hall DUDASC (REST)
14. Relieving arcade at the base of the south wall of the North Hall
15. Section of North Hall DUDASC (REST)
16. Base of the North Hall entrance doorway
17. Arch of the North Hall entrance doorway showing decoration
18. North elevation of the Chapel Building and Junction
19. Sections across the North Terrace

20. North section of heating trench

21. East section of heating trench

22. Norman Chapel, west wall

23. Norman Chapel, north wall

24. Reconstruction of North Hall as it may have been in the late twelfth century

25. Alternative reconstruction of the North Hall in the twelfth century

26. Sketch of fabric in Oubliette shaft, Low Tower

LIST OF PLATES IN APPENDIX J

Frontis: Aerial view of the Inner Bailey with principal buildings identified.

1. The Gatehouse and Barbican looking North-east from the Fellows' Garden.

2. The Barbican area looking north to Gatehouse.

3. The filled in Moat area below the Keep mound.

4. Section across Moat in the Fellows' Garden Excavations, 1991.

5. Fragment of original Barbican wall in trench; the present wall is to the right.

6. The Gate arch of three Romanesque orders. (The door itself is sixteenth century work)

7. Detail of chevron and star ornament on the orders of the Gate arch.

8. Twelfth century boss at intersection of Gatehouse vaulting.

9. Detail of chevron ornament in Cathedral nave; the work of Bishop Flambard (1099 - 1128).

10. Detail of west facade of Cathedral Chapter House; the work of Bishop Geoffrey Rufus (1133 - 1140)

11. South curtain wall between the Gatehouse and Garden Stairs, looking south.

12. East front of Garden Stairs with Kitchen Courtyard to the right, linking with the south end of the Great Hall.

13. West Range of Castle looking from South Street.

14. The Low Tower with the Kitchen Tower behind looking north from Fellows' Garden

15. Oubliette shaft within Low Tower.

16. Detail of blocked opening in the west wall of the Kitchen Tower.

17. Internal of the Buttery looking south towards the Kitchen

18. Lancet window on south wall of Kitchen tower. The partial arch of another opening is seen above and to the right

19. Internal view of the same window. The lower half of the splay has been whitewashed.

20. External view of the Great Hall, looking west

21. Internal view of the Great Hall, looking north-west

22. Windows at the south end of the Great Hall

23. Window at the North end of the Great Hall

24. Bishop Cosin's porch to the Great Hall

25. Thirteenth century entrance to the Great Hall

26. Most intact thirteenth century window on west wall of Great Hall

27. Altered window on west side of Great Hall

28. Entrance into Great Hall from Buttery

29. Division between Bishop Bek's new construction and the original Undercroft

30. Interior of the Undercroft looking north-west

31. West side of the West Courtyard Tunnel arch, looking east

32. West side of the West Courtyard arcade, southern arch

33. Possible original cupboard/alcove in the Undercroft toilets

34. East windows of the Undercroft, looking east

35. West window of the Undercroft, looking west

36. Blocked opening in south wall of Undercroft

37. Blocked opening in north wall beneath West Courtyard, looking south

38. Black Stairs and North Range, looking north-west

39. Chapel and Junction Buildings, looking north

40. Wall face with double chamfered plinth concealed within fabric at base of Black Stairs

41. Horizontal discontinuity in fabric on east wall of Great Hall at north end

42. West end of the North Hall; the exit to the Garderobe Passage (page 22) can be seen below right

43. Chamfered offset and buttress with string course at west end of North Hall south wall

44. Right-angled offsets and plain buttress on central part of the North Hall's south wall

45. Part of relieving arcade at base of south wall of North Hall

46. The North-west Tower looking west

47. Exit from the south-west newel stair of the North Hall onto the Black Stairs

48. Detail of the ornament on the opening shown in Plate 47

49. Newel stair on south-east corner of the North Hall

50. Newel stair on south side of the North Hall

51. Capital of broken shaft adjacent to North-west Tower

52. Roof of passage above Chaplain's Bathroom, looking north. The window to the left is a deeply splayed lancet

53. Wall scar on north face of south wall of North Hall at Norman Gallery level

54. Anomaly in masonry on the south side of the North Hall at Tunstall Gallery level

55. The twelfth century doorway of the North Hall, looking north

56. Detail of arch decoration on the same doorway

57. Detail of capitals on west side of the doorway of the North Hall

58. Detail of capitals on east side of the doorway of the North Hall

59. Opening concealed behind stucco in south wall of Senior Common Room. The join between the twelfth and fifteenth century work is seen on the left.

60. Blocked opening on south wall of North Hall at Tunstall Gallery level.

61. External face of surviving window on south wall of North Hall

62. Doorway between North Hall and thirteenth century angle tower

63. Interior of the Norman Gallery in the North Hall looking south-east

64. An individual triplet on the Norman Gallery

65. Richly ornamented door at east end of Norman Gallery, south side

66. Detail on west side of door shown in Plate 65; the cut-through hood mould can be seen

67. Detail of chevron ornamented block at Norman Gallery level

68. Detail of surviving string course on north face of the south wall of the North Hall

69. Sculpted decoration in spandrel at west end of North Hall. Above, left, a mason's mark is seen

70. Sculpted decoration in spandrel at west end of North Hall

71. Exit from the Norman Gallery to the Black Stairs from the stairs side

72. Collapsed triplet on Norman Gallery.

73. Present interior of Norman Chapel, looking east

74. Present interior of Norman Chapel looking west

75. East wall of Norman Chapel, showing splayed opening and responds

76. North door and responds in eleventh century hall/chapel at Laval, Maine

77. The floor of the Norman Chapel

78. North wall of Norman Chapel; the opening is believed to be a sally-porte. Within it is the surviving fragment of the capital shown in Plate 80

79. Length of Romanesque corbel table, re-used in boiler room, west of Norman Chapel

80. Romanesque capital found to the west of the Norman Chapel

81. Capital in Fulling Mill Museum Durham, believed to have come from the Castle

82. Another face of the same capital

83. The Keep, looking east from the Courtyard

84. North section of Courtyard Heating Trench; the robbed west wall of the East Range is on the right

85. South section of heating trench in castle courtyard, looking south. Part of the west wall of the East Range is seen in the left corner

86. Detail of surviving fragment of the west wall of the East Range, showing dressed stone face.

87. Bastion Tower below Keep, looking west

88. Interior of the Bastion Tower, showing openings

89. Drawing of the north side of the castle by Lambert, 1796

90. Drawing of the Great Hall from an article by Boyle, 1890

91. Map of Durham City by Patteson, 1595. (Detail of Castle)

92. South-east view of Durham by V. Bok, c. 1657 - 1665

93. Black and white north-west view of castle painted c.1700

94. Colour view of castle from the north-west c.1700

95. View of west side of the castle, looking from South Street. Painted c.1700

96. View of Castle Courtyard, looking north c.1700

97. South-west view of the castle by Samuel and Nathaniel Buck, 1728

98. North-west view of castle from Framwellgate, by Allom and Rose, 1832

99. Detail of map of Durham by Forster, 1754, showing south front of castle

100. East view of the City by Forster, 1754

101. South-west view of the castle by Francis Grose, 1774

102. North-west view of Durham City by Forster, 1754

103. Close-up of castle, north-west view, by Forster, 1754

104. Impression of Castle Gatehouse, c.1778, looking north. (After Grimm)

105. Plan of the Norman Chapel from the V.C.H. (1905)

106. View of the Norman Chapel by Grimm

107. South-west view of castle by Sparrow, 1784

108. View of Castle Courtyard, looking east, by J.G.Buckler, c.1800

109. West view of Castle by Billings, 1846

110. View of Castle Courtyard, looking north-west, by Billings, 1846

111. The Norman Chapel looking west, pre-1951, north aisle

112. The Norman Chapel looking west, pre-1951, south aisle

113. Interior of eleventh century hall at Chepstow Castle

114. Interior of eleventh century hall ("Scolland's Hall") at Richmond Castle

115. Exterior of "Scolland's" eleventh century hall at Richmond Castle

116. Detail of decorated capitals in the choir of the church at Fécamp

117. Internal splay of window in eleventh century hall at Corfe Castle

118. Alcove or blocked opening in east wall of eleventh century hall at Corfe Castle

119. West door of the church at St Georges Boscherville

120. Decorative detail of the west door at St Georges Boscherville

121. The approach to the twelfth century Keep at Castle Hedingham

122. The approach to the thirteenth century hall at Ludlow Castle

123. Plan and elevation of hall at St Georges Boscherville

124. Romanesque door at Canterbury (now destroyed)

125. Detail of triplets in Westminster Hall arcade

126. Detail of the 'Prior's Door' in the east lane of the cloister, Durham Cathedral, showing decoration of capitals

127. View of the Galilee, Durham Cathedral, showing columns and capitals

128. Detail of Darlington church chancel, showing decoration (after Longstaffe)

129. Capitals from Darlington (left) and Auckland Castle Chapel (right), showing du Puiset's late architectural style

130. Relieving arch on north-west corner of Undercroft showing the broken through masonry

131. Thickened wall on the east side of the north end of the Undercroft

132. The approach to the garderobe passage on the north-west corner of the Castle behind the Black Stairs

133. Newel stair on the south-west corner of the North Range

134. The garderobe passage on the north-west corner of the Castle behind the Black Stairs

135. Fragment of wall or foundation underlying the north-west corner of the Castle (see Chapter 1, page 22)

136. Early string course in the garderobe passage

137. Comparative string course profiles

138. Loose block from eleventh century string course found to the west of the Chapel, and partly sealed by demolition deposits.

139. Fragment of window opening on the north wall of the Norman Gallery, looking north

140. Blocked exit from the east of the Chapel Building, Upper floor

141. Blocked west door to Upper floor of Chapel Building (The floor support is 18th century brick)

142. View of Newcastle Castle Chapel, showing decoration

143. Norham tower, looking north

144. Detail of the twelfth century heightening of Norham tower

145. East end of Norham tower. Flambard's hall is seen on the left; the roof scar of du Puiset's extension is seen near the top of the picture.

146. Windows of du Puiset's extension in Norham tower; compare the opening in Plate 19

147. Norman Chapel, east corbel, south side

148. Norman Chapel, east corbel, north side

149. Norman Chapel, south-east capital

150. Norman Chapel, south-east capital

151. Norman Chapel, north-east capital, north face

152. Norman Chapel, north-east capital, east face

153. Norman Chapel, north-east capital, south face

154. Norman Chapel, north-east capital, west face

155. Norman Chapel, north central capital, south face

156. Norman Chapel, north central capital, east face

157. Norman Chapel, north central capital, north face

158. Norman Chapel, north central capital, west face

159. Norman Chapel, south central capital, north face

160. Norman Chapel, south central capital, west face

161. Norman Chapel, south central capital, south face

162. Norman Chapel, south central capital, east face

163. Norman Chapel, south-west capital, south face

164. Norman Chapel, south-west capital, east face

165. Norman Chapel, south-west capital, north face

166. Norman Chapel, south-west capital, west face

167. Norman Chapel, north-west capital, east face

168. Norman Chapel, north-west capital, south face

169. Norman Chapel, north-west capital, west face

170. Norman Chapel, north-west capital, north face

171. Reconstruction of Hedingham tower (after Dixon & Marshall)

172. Early wall, aligned west-north-west, buried in Moat; Moat deposits can be seen in the end section

173. Eighteenth century print of Auckland Castle

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ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE TEXT AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

BL ADD MS British Library Additional Manuscripts Collection

CCCC Corpus Christi College Cambridge

CUL Cambridge University Library

DCCL Durham Cathedral Chapter Library

DUDASC Durham University, Depart of Archives and Special Collections

DUPGL Durham University Palace Green Library

GTD Grimm's Topographical Drawings (see bibliography)

HDE Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae (see Arnold 1882)

HDST Historia Dunelmensis Scriptores Tres (see Raine ed. 1839)

HR Historia Regum (see Arnold 1885)

RCAHM Royal Commission for Ancient and Historic Monuments

V.C.H. Victoria County History (see Gee 1928)

PROLOGUE

Aims

The aim of this research is to investigate, as fully as possible, the evidence for and the surviving traces of the early castle at Durham. By the use of the term "early" I mean specifically the layout of the castle as first conceived in 1072, and its subsequent development to the year 1217, which is the beginning of the episcopacy of Richard de Marisco. This selected period covers the foundation of the castle, and the rapid changes within the Romanesque development, culminating in the rebuilding after fire by Bishop du Puiset (1153 - 1195) and the works of King John (1208 - 1217). After 1217 there was a long period of relative inactivity until the reconstruction of the Great Hall in the late thirteenth century. I have therefore chosen this date as a *terminus post quem* for the castle's early period.

Surviving documentary records of this early castle are very scarce. The historical sources relevant to the study of the monument have been listed in various tables which can be found in Appendix E. As will be detailed in Chapter 2, little survives from before 1300 and existing sources are very subject-specific. Only the poem by Laurence of Durham (ed. Raine 1880) describes the castle directly. This, however, is an artistic impression, not a historical account. Most documents refer to the castle in asides to the main theme and while this evidence assists in constructing the overall picture, more substantial ground is needed for this study. A number of early paintings and drawings feature the castle and these have been listed with sources in a number of tables, which can also be found in Appendix E. Patteson's map of 1595 is the earliest view of the city and castle that is now known (Chapter 4, page 7). The later views afford details of the early appearance and what has been altered but are more circumstantial than other kinds of evidence.

It was suggested in a previous work (Leyland 1987 and summarised in Appendix N) that concealed beneath the later fabric overlays and/or later floor levels, a substantially greater part of the early castle buildings survived, from both the eleventh and twelfth centuries, than had hitherto been thought. Archaeological evidence recovered

from the demolition levels beneath the North Range also suggested that "Pudsey's Hall", as it is often now called, might in fact incorporate a substantial part of an earlier hall building which had been constructed by Bishop Flambard (1099 - 1128 ; Leyland 1987, 20-21). Neither an archaeological survey nor any internal survey of the castle buildings has ever taken place. Having identified the early chapel building, it was therefore a logical progression that the next investigation in the castle should be of the adjacent buildings and the environment in which it lay.

The main focus of this study will therefore be the surviving material remains of the period under study within the Inner Bailey. This area is shown on Plan A which is in the folding pocket on the end paper of the thesis. It is recommended that this plan be kept open in front of the reader, whilst reading the text, which will assist in following the necessarily complex arguments. There are also two smaller folding plans in the same pocket - Plan I and II. These show a suggested phasing of the standing buildings. It must be strongly emphasised that this is a preliminary phasing based on the work of this thesis. Future studies of the castle will undoubtedly refine the picture further and may change some dating altogether.

The most substantial survival is the North Hall. Its builder is named in older works as Bishop Hugh le Puiset (1153 - 1195) but in this study he will be referred to as Hugh *du* Puiset, in line with current academic usage. The North Hall is on the north side of the Inner Bailey and still largely intact. This building will not be examined in isolation but in relation to the other surviving remains in the Inner Bailey and sub-surface archaeological evidence will also be considered. Since such a large part of the early buildings remain intact it was felt that an analysis of the existing remains would yield the best picture of the early layout and development. This study will also not be in isolation but in the light of the other supporting evidence, documentary and visual, which was mentioned above. By integrating the witness of the past, both literary and artistic, with the more solid evidence of what can still be seen, it is hoped to arrive at an accurate portrait of the subject under discussion.

There have been studies and descriptions of the castle in previous centuries, as will be discussed in chapters 2, 3, and 4. At this point it would be useful to introduce the two works to which I will be making most frequent reference. Between 1785 and 1787 William Hutchinson published a three volume county history entitled "The History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham". It was the first really detailed attempt to link the historical narrative to the standing remains. Although a careful and meticulous author, Hutchinson also included errors or assumptions in the work which have been assumed by the modern age as historical fact. His history is assessed more fully in Appendix B.

Henry Gee was the Master of University College at around 1900 when the University occupied the castle buildings. From surviving letters it is also known that he carried out clandestine excavations on a number of areas around the castle (Greenwell and Hodges Letters 1886 - 1908, no. 22). He also wrote the original guide book to the castle. For these reasons he was invited by the editor of the Victoria County History volumes to write the articles on the castle for that work (Gee 1928). This is the most recent description of the history and buildings and provides a counterpoint to Hutchinson's primary description. These two gentlemen and their remarks will assist the present investigation throughout, since many of the problems and ideas considered herein had already been examined by either or both of them.

The wear and tear of the modern age has rendered further restoration and especially preservation necessary. The north wall of Du Puiset's Hall particularly is rich in architectural and fabric detail of the early periods of the range's history. Partial restoration of the fabric on the North side has already taken place (see Appendix O) and more will follow. Many areas of the castle are in need of repair and maintenance and in some cases, e.g. the Keep and the North Hall, major work may be necessary. The time is therefore ripe to undertake a study of this important monument before forthcoming alterations reduce evidence and understanding to a minimum.

Reasons for Study

In its recent review of policy on Medieval Archaeology, the Society for Medieval Archaeology suggested that castle studies had over-concentrated on their defensive aspects and that the domestic and administrative arrangements had been largely passed over (Hinton 1987, 6).

The study of Durham Castle's early layout affords a great opportunity in this area for there are many surviving traces of the late eleventh and early twelfth century accommodation as will be demonstrated (Phase Plans I and II). The twelfth century Hall is still substantially intact, the twelfth century Kitchen also. The eleventh century Chapel building, the early twelfth century Undercroft, substantial parts of the twelfth century gate, all these, together with other, more vestigial traces, combine to give an extraordinarily clear picture of the domestic layout of a castle at this period.

The alterations and additions to the various parts give a complete sequence of how a major high-ranking building was altered by many incumbents to keep pace with changing ideas, to provide a level of comfort and style, and to express the authority and power of a Bishop who was also a semi-independent Prince of his region. Restricted in development by the need for defence, the building shows us how the needs of a castle and of a palace were combined to produce a hybrid that was at once a palatial castle and a fortified Palace. These twin functions must be borne in mind while examining the evidence. M. W. Thompson has recently argued that after the twelfth century Durham ceased to function as a castle but became a palatial adjunct to the Cathedral close (1994; forthcoming). Full discussion of this suggestion can be found in Chapter 7 where this study's conclusions are presented.

Durham was in a strong position from the first. The natural strength of the peninsula was enhanced by the fortification of Bishops Flambard (1099 - 1128) and du Puiset (1153 - 1195). This re-focused the defensive thrust to the city walls and rendered the Inner Bailey less susceptible to the major changes that occurred to many important early castles in the later medieval period. The core picture of the early design may therefore be less obscured than at other major monuments.

Also in the light of recent work on the twelfth century hall at the Episcopal palace at Hereford (Blair 1987, 59-72) and Alcock and Buckley's work on the twelfth century Episcopal hall at Leicester (1987, 73-79) an opportunity is given to compare several halls of a similar date and social rank and also to compare Durham's stone tradition with the timber tradition of the two halls mentioned above. While few eleventh century halls remain largely intact there are surviving examples at Chepstow, Corfe, and locally at Richmond. Parallels for other features and arrangements can be found at other English castles and these will be discussed in chapters 5 and 6. Clearly Durham is constrained by its topography but valid comparisons can still be made.

It should be noted that the major builders of Durham Castle in the period under scrutiny were all Frenchmen, with lands and interests in France. William St Calais was from Le Mans, an area under strong Norman influence, Ranulf Flambard was from Bayeux, and du Puiset was a Parisian. Certainly parallels for features and arrangements at Durham can be found in Normandy at Laval, Fécamp, St. Georges de Boscherville and other areas of France. Undoubtedly these early Bishops brought with them continental ideas of castle architecture, if not their own masons, and this is reflected in the structure now under investigation.

Approach

As has been mentioned the main approach to this study has been a systematic study of the surviving remains in the Inner Bailey. The Outer Bailey at Durham, known as the "Outer Castle" in the Middle Ages, was a different entity. It comprised the rest of the peninsula and enclosed the early town itself. A detailed examination of its origins and development would be a major study in itself; nor would it be relevant to the points I wish to raise here about the provision and development of buildings within a high-ranking enceinte, as its functions were more concerned with the military provision and secular settlement arrangements. A brief description of the Outer Bailey will be included at the end of Chapter 1.

Durham Castle is a building where people work and live today. This creates both advantages and disadvantages. It has maintained and helped the survival of a great deal of early construction; it is also possible to see a castle as a building in action as it were, not as a ruin or museum. None the less this has placed certain constraints on the study at hand. The busy all year round schedule of the castle makes it difficult to create working areas for archaeological study or architectural drawing as one would wish. All areas of the monument are used daily. The fluctuating finances of the college as an institution also make it hard to predict the schedule of repairs and maintenance. Works are carried out as surplus funds become available - this is often a last minute decision. The Fellows' Garden Project is a case in point. The funds became available to proceed with the new office accommodation; the archaeological excavation took place in advance of the work. Then an unexpected shortfall in funds delayed the rest of the programme so that the expected alterations to the Garden Stairs building did not then take place until much later. Where possible this study has taken advantage of the unexpected and accidental interventions in the archaeology of the building. While this has only provided some keyholes into the past as it were, none the less, some important new information has been gained, particularly about the East Range (see Appendix L). Thus in studying the building much must rest on direct visual examination and the integration and analysis of past observations and records.

Architectural features and fabric differences were examined in all the buildings of the Inner Bailey and where possible, surviving remains below floors and in less accessible parts of the building were also looked at. The documentary sources were examined and an attempt made to relate them to ascertain influences on later writers and on the received ideas of the modern age about the buildings. This study will concentrate on relating the historical source material to the analysis of the buildings; the full historical discussion can be found in Appendix B. There was also a systematic examination of the surviving visual evidence, with attempts to relate this both to the surviving remains and the documented changes by past owners.

A Brief Introductory History

For the benefit of those less familiar with the monument, there follows a brief description of the castle's general history. While the dates of the various Bishops' tenures are given in the text, there is also a full list of bishops/owners and dates in Appendix A. It may be also useful to refer to Plan A which shows the present layout of the castle and Plans I and II which suggest dates for different areas of the monument. Bibliographic references have generally been left out of this brief overview in order to ease reading. Chapter 1 which is a full tour of the castle features contains full bibliographic references for the various features and phases of construction.

The North of England was in a state of unrest after the Norman invasion. In 1069 William sent Robert Cumin to be Governor of Northumberland. He was met by the Bishop Aegelwine who advised him that there was a plot against his life and that he should proceed with caution. Cumin ignored this and treated the city in a rough and contemptuous fashion. Accordingly, early one morning, the people rose and attacked Cumin's occupying force. The remnants of this force, together with the Governor himself were trapped in the Earl's house which was then fired, killing all (Symeon 1882, 98-9).

William himself came north in 1072 to subject the Scots and upon his return from Scotland ordered a castle to be built at Durham. He had previously appointed Walcher to the Bishopric and the castle was given into his charge, although the construction is may have been superintended by Waltheof the Earl of Northumberland, then a close friend of the Bishop (Scott 1952, 192 and 195). From charter evidence it is known that revenue from the Abbey at Waltham was given by Queen Matilda towards the construction costs (see chapter 2, page 53). Parts of the curtain wall and the Norman Chapel are thought to date from this early period. Bishop Flambard (1099 - 1128) is said to have carried out some construction work - the poetic description of the castle written around 1144 (ed. Raine 1880) includes a description of the two halls and it is assumed that Flambard was responsible for at least one of these.

The castle was damaged by fire in the early years of du Puiset's episcopate and the Bishop carried out much reconstruction in the wake of this fire, particularly of the North Range. King John held the castle between 1208 and 1217 and references in the Pipe Rolls indicate that he carried out repairs and work on the buildings - the north-west tower is thought to be the main work. Anthony Bek (1284 - 1311) was responsible for the building of the Great Hall in the West Range. In the fourteenth century Bishop Hatfield carried out extensive works. He extended and improved the Great Hall and constructed the octagonal Keep, expanding the motte to take the weight of the foundations. Bishop Fox (1494 - 1501) refurbished the Kitchen and carried out some alterations to the North Range. Bishop Tunstall (1530 - 1559) added the Gallery to the south side of the North range and the Clock tower and Chapel. Richard Niele (1617 - 1628) carried out £3000 of repairs but it is not known exactly what was done. It is thought that he was responsible for cutting off the north end of the Great Hall and creating two rooms out of the space. Cromwell, who held the castle after the Civil War, used it as a garrison for soldiers and as a prison. Hence, when Bishop Cosin took over on the Restoration of Charles II, he carried out many repairs and alterations. These included the remodelling of the approach, the re-buttressing of and the addition of a portico to the Great Hall, the extension of the Tunstall Chapel, and the addition of the Black Staircase in the angle between the West and North Ranges. He also terraced the Motte and laid out some of the gardens. His successor Lord Crewe repaired the Keep and completed the extension of Tunstall's Chapel. In the eighteenth century Bishops Butler and Trevor planned and executed changes to the North Range and refurbished the rooms in those buildings. Bishop Thurlow pulled down the top storey of the Keep which had become ruinous in 1789. Bishop Barrington (1791 - 1826) replaced the roof on the North Range and may have made repairs to the roof of the Great Hall. The University took over the castle in 1836 and carried out many changes. The Keep was rebuilt, the roof on the Great Hall replaced and the two rooms at its north end were removed. A way was opened through the south-east corner of the Norman Chapel and the Junction building was built to give access to the new Keep. Later, extensive underpinning and tie-

pinning works were also carried and much of the fabric was renewed. In 1951 the Chapel was restored and a new way made to the Keep under the east end of the Tunstall Chapel.

Architectural Chronology

It is proposed to briefly outline an architectural background to this study. The basis for dating at Durham Castle will be the received historical tradition where derived from primary source material, correlation of architectural parallels with locally and nationally dated examples, and secondary historical tradition from the more reputable sources.

There are very few exact dates in the early history. Documentation is scarce or unavailable and events and their architectural derivations must be tied to a "best-guess" chronology. In the category of known dates are:

1. The foundation of the castle - 1072.

2. The foundation of the Cathedral - 1093

3. Dates of accession and deaths of Bishops.

4. Events which can be tied down through their quoted historical context to a reasonably narrow band of years. This is particularly so of the correlative dates from the Cathedral where documents assist in close dating.

The Cathedral

Close dating for the constructional phases of the Cathedral is scarce. For the Romanesque period of building which is of particular interest to this study, chronicles are the only source (Snape 1980, 20).

Symeon's Chronicle of the church at Durham says that at the death of Bishop Flambard in 1128 the walls of the nave were complete "up to the covering (*testudo*)"

(Symeon 1882, 139). Snape translates *testudo* as almost certainly meaning the vault and not the roof. The nave was then completed during the following five years when the see was vacant.

Thus Snape outlines a chronology beginning in 1093; the building reaching the nave by 1099; the vault over the shrine completed by 1104 (the date of the translation of the relics); the nave walls by 1128; and the nave vault between 1128 and 1133 (Snape 1980, 22).

According to Symeon's Continuator (see chapter 2), the Chapter House was completed in the time of Bishop Geoffrey Rufus, that is between 1133 and 1141 (Symeon 1882, 142). Another version of the same work says that the building was both started and finished in the time of Bishop Geoffrey (Snape 1980, 22).

Both of these dates, i.e. that of the vault and the Chapter house suggest chronologies for the early shallow chevron work. That on the arches of the nave vaults is more irregular (Plate 9) whilst that on the arches of the Chapter House facade is more evenly spaced, matching the work on the orders of the castle's Gatehouse arch (Plates 6 and 10).

A charter datable to the 1180s suggests that the Galilee Chapel of the Cathedral was in existence by 1189 at the latest (Snape 1980, 23). This provides a chronological context for the deep cut chevron which appears on the Galilee arches and also on the arches of the Norman Gallery in the castle's North Hall (Plates 64 and 127).

Richard Halsey, however, parallels the chevrons and moulding of the Galilee with Newcastle castle Chapel which was built between 1168 and 1178 (Halsey 1980, 68-9). Here, right-angled chevron is used on the arch soffits and the capitals are waterleaf (Plate 142). He also mentions Bridlington Priory cloister arcade although there are subtle differences in character. He suggests the origins of both as Roger's choir at York, in turn derived from earlier work by Wibert at Canterbury c.1155 - 1160. In this context he refers to the Aula Nova staircase (Plate 124) and the water tower both of that period.

The importance of this chronology is to suggest a typological dating for the deep cut chevron of the Galilee Chapel in the Cathedral and the castle North Hall.

Du Puiset's capitals and decorative details seem to show a certain stylistic development through his episcopate. The North Hall doorway would be first in this sequence, a fully Romanesque piece with figure capitals and ornamented arches. The arch ornament is conventionally geometric (Elevation 17); the capitals (Plates 55, 56, 57, and 58) are highly sculpted with masks and figures and use mitres as volutes. The next development is seen in the doorway from the east cloister lane into Durham Cathedral (Plate 126). The overall ornament of the arches, compared with that at the castle is heavy, fantastic, and almost abstract. The masks and figures have disappeared and the volutes alternate between mitres and waterleaf ornament.

The next stage in the development is seen in the Galilee chapel in the same Cathedral (Plate 127). Here there are detached columns of Purbeck marble foreshadowing their popularity in the thirteenth century. The arches are decorated with very deep right angled chevron and the capitals display only waterleaf, echoing the King's work at Newcastle (Plate 142). Finally in the sequence there is work at Darlington church and Auckland castle Chapel which was du Puiset's Great Hall (Plates 128 and 129). Detached marble columns are alongside full waterleaf capitals supporting pointed arches; the transition into the new architectural form is complete.

This sequence would seem to suggest the castle North Hall door arch was among du Puiset's earlier works. It retains mitres for the volutes and the ornament is still fine and subtly detailed.

If Halsey's date of the 1170s is correct for the Galilee (Halsey 1980, 69) it would push the date of the castle North Hall back to the beginning of du Puiset's episcopacy. This would certainly agree with Geoffrey of Coldingham's chronology who places the fire at the castle and the subsequent rebuilding in "the first years of his (i.e. du Puiset's) episcopate (ed. Raine 1839).

General Dating Methods

The more general methods of dating must be looked at. These include fabric, stone-tooling, mortar, and construction.

It is logical to expect an improvement in fabric construction over time. As methods improve one expects to see better dressing of stonework, straighter coursing, and closer jointing. It is however, a long step from this simple argument to the claim that fabric is datable by type. In the past argument ranged around whether herringbone construction was an indication of date (e.g. Brown 1925, 245). H.M. Taylor finally laid the argument to rest by finding clear examples of pre- and post-Conquest herringbone construction and thus demonstrated that it was not a criterion of date (1978, 760). In that context it might be pointed out that the west hall at Corfe castle dated c. 1080 (see chapter 5, pages 106-7) has herringbone construction. The West Hall at Durham, dated 1070s (see Chapter 1, pages 15 - 17) is coursed stone.

Hugh Braun also looked at the problem of fabric (1985, 53 - 68). Of the three illustrations he gives of fabrics with their dates, two are very similar (Braun 1985, opposite page 48). Apart from a slight elongation in the horizontal axis of the stones, both walls are similarly jointed, and display the same fine tooling. Yet one is labelled as Conquest period and the other as early Gothic.

This leads on to the problem of tooling. Masons obviously develop better tools for the dressing of stone as time progresses. Logically this should be visible in the fabric and in broad terms it may be. Yet to try any kind of dating on this basis is fraught with difficulty. It cannot be assumed that simply because a new stone dressing or constructional technique is available that every mason will instantly adopt them. Most craftsmen are fairly conservative. While a certain pressure can be and is exerted by the patron, many craftsmen will go on using the techniques they are familiar with and the tools they prefer. Most patrons will be concerned with overall appearance and ornamental details. Smaller aspects of the design may remain in the masons' hands.

At Durham the problem the problem is exacerbated by the local stone type. The greater part of the stone in the castle is a soft local sandstone, prone to severe

weathering. Most of the early stonework has lost its facing and its tooling and in severe cases such as the Undercroft, it is difficult to be sure what the original appearance of the walls was. Stone is re-used in other walls so often only one or two stones will actually have any kind of finish or tooling. One might be able to say that a particular stone is early but in itself, this is not a clue to the date of the wall.

There is also a social problem. Firstly masonry varies with the social rank of the patron and the expense lavished on it. Secondly it varies with function and public accessibility. A hall built for the King will probably have more care and money spent on it than a merchant's town house, although there may be similarities in design. Even within the King's palace, the hall will be given a more polished finish than the stables, although both are twelfth century and both are made of stone. Compare Elevations 10, 22, 23, and 26 for different eleventh century walls in the castle. While no elevation is yet possible for the East Range, it has evidence for having been plastered and painted (see Chapter 1, page 40). Equally, compare the fabric of the upper North Hall with the lower (Elevations 14; Plates 45, 60, and 64). Both are twelfth century; both are very different. Yet this may simply arise from the lower wall having been plastered originally so that the rougher fabric would not have shown.

I generally accept that thicker walls are likely to be earlier in date. This is not a hard and fast rule. Obviously in weaker ground, or where a wall is intended to bear a heavier load, it may be thickened to take account of these facts. Those walls in the castle which can be dated by monumental features or style of openings are generally thicker where the date of construction is earlier in the medieval period, and thinner where later.

Generally therefore, I would accept that a roughly built wall of greater thickness, more roughly dressed stone, laid in more random coursing, is likely to be earlier in the period. I would not wish to press fabric further on dating grounds, preferring to consider any construction in terms of its position and context relative to work of known date and also with respect to its function.

Virtually all the walls in the castle use the same type of lime based mortar with a mixture of coal dust. Over the course of this study and during recording such areas as

the North Terrace (Appendix O), a number of mortar samples have been taken. It is hoped to create a programme of mortar sampling and analysis in the future. By knowing the composition of mortars in relatively well dated walls it may be possible to create a database against which unknown or newly discovered construction can be tested.

A word of caution should be sounded. Elevation 28 is of the north wall of the Chapel and Junction buildings (Appendix H). It clearly demonstrates how even a small area of the castle's masonry has been patched and re-patched many times. Many walls are a similar complex quilt of fabrics and joints which only a stone by stone drawing can really begin to separate into its component parts. Unfortunately this technique was not used on the North Terrace although its use has been recommended for future work (Appendix O). Even the simpler recording of the North Terrace, however, shows the complexity that exists in a monument of this kind.

CHAPTER 1

THE PRESENT BUILDINGS

The castle at Durham has had the historic misfortune to be overshadowed by its more famous neighbour, the Cathedral. While most know of the building's existence, few are familiar with its layout, or the nature of its buildings, which must first be described.

There seems to be a general scarcity of plans of the castle particularly before 1900. The description of the layout will mainly be with reference to four plans. The Jones plan of 1904 is the most recently surveyed and is that featured in the Victoria County History (1928, 69). This has been reproduced as Plan S. The large folding Plan A which can be found in the pocket on the end paper after all the appendices is the main plan of reference. Although it largely follows the Jones plan, I have modified certain areas which have been altered since his day. The measurements for these altered portions were fairly rough, although errors should be only 0.3m at maximum. The various parts of the castle have been labelled according to the description which follows.

Also in the end pocket are Phase Plans I and II which can be used in conjunction with Plan A. They show a suggested phasing for the various buildings and although this phasing must be regarded as preliminary, it none the less is a useful general guide to the dating of the various areas.

Some reference will also be made to the Lambert plan of 1796 which was made for his description of the castle (discussed in Chapter 3) and which has been reproduced as Plan B. This is a very schematic plan and is mainly useful for recording the names of the various parts of the castle in an earlier period. He was a very idiosyncratic writer and some allowance must be made for the fact that the plan may record names personally assumed by Lambert rather than those that were really in use.

The earliest detailed plan that seems to survive is reproduced in the Victoria County History (1928, 74). It is said there to have been adapted from a plan of 1775 and is here reproduced as Plan C. The discussion of the visual record in Chapter 4 and Appendies C and D will show, I believe, that the ascribed date of 1775 is far too late for

the internal details of this plan. The dating assumed at present would place it after the time of Bishop Trevor (1752 - 1771) who was responsible for major changes to the layout of the west side. The plan, however, shows the layout as it was before the changes were executed which would suggest a *terminus ante quem* date in the closing years of Trevor's episcopate. It thus not only details the arrangements before his extensive changes but serves as a useful corroboration of the visual record as evidenced by paintings and drawings. In this study I have recorded the previous names of the buildings, where known from the documentary record and corroborated by the early plans, but will otherwise refer to buildings by their present names or, where necessary, by labels I have given them. In what follows the source of the used name will be made clear.

This chapter will make necessary cross references to elevation drawings in Appendix H and the photographs in Appendix J which illustrate various areas of the monument. To assist the reader, there are also a number of larger scale plans of areas within the castle (Appendix G) and these plans are lettered E, G, H, J, L, and M. The small Roman numerals on these plans cross reference with the numbers on the photographic plates in Appendix J and are depicted on the large scale plans with a small directional arrow. This indicates where the photographer was standing when the picture was taken and in which direction the camera was pointing. It is hoped that this scheme will help to orient the reader within the various areas of the monument and assist in understanding what is being looked at or discussed.

The reports of archaeological investigation carried out in specific areas of the monument have been gathered togethered in Appendices K - O. Illustrations and plans for these reports will be found with the other illustrations in the respective Appendices, i.e. G, H, and J.

This chapter will take the form of a tour around the castle buildings in a clockwise direction, starting at the Gatehouse area. Its purpose will be to introduce the buildings as they survive, present a brief summary of their respective dates and the

derivations thereof, and detail the various archaeological investigations that have taken place.

Much archaeological work, unpublished and as far as is known without proper record, was carried out by Henry Gee, the Master of the College, and his architect, W. Jones, at the beginning of the century. For an account of what was done one must rely on the plan made by Jones in 1904 (Plan S) and brief remarks by the two gentlemen which are scattered throughout Gee's text in the Victoria County History (1928, 64-91) and a number of articles and loose papers (e.g. Gee 1904, 18 and Greenwell and Hodges 1886 - 1908). The various references will be tied into the evidence in the following chapter where possible. Gee's account in the Victoria County History is the most recent and the one with which most people are familiar. I wish to make it clear that I do not necessarily accept Gee's scheme of dating but cite it here as it is the main source for the currently assumed dating of the castle buldings.

THE GATE AND BARBICAN AREA (Plates 1 and 2)

The castle is entered by way of a wide cobbled street set between two walls which leads to the Gatehouse (Plate 2). This area is called the Barbican (Plans A & D). The Barbican area as it appears at present is the creation of the remodelling of Bishop Cosin (1660 - 1672 ; see Appendix K) and of James Wyatt for Bishop Barrington (1796 - 1826 ; Gee 1928, 69).

THE MOAT (Plates 3 & 4)

The castle is clearly of the motte and bailey type. There is a prominent mound or motte of earth and turf and adjacent to it is an enclosure or bailey containg the rest of the castle buildings. As with many castles of this type the adjacent enclosure is small and compact with buildings occupying most sides of the perimeter. There is also a larger enclosure or Outer Bailey attached on the south and east sides - this is discussed at the end of this chapter (See Plan R).

From the evidence of the poem by Laurence of Durham (ed. Raine 1880, 9-11; discussed in Chapter 2), it has been inferred that the Inner Bailey was protected on the south side at least, by a moat, separating it from the Palace Green area (Cosin 1872 xii ; see Plans A, R, & S).

The moat presumably separated the Inner Bailey from the Outer Bailey, and protected the former should assailants gain the flat ground in front of the Cathedral.

The course of the moat may have begun below the Kitchen and Low Tower and to the west of the Gatehouse. How far to the west it began is not clear. It would have run immediately to the south of the Gatehouse, under the Barbican, presumably curved around the Keep mound and finished somewhere on the east or north of the Keep and/or outer defences.

Hutchinson places the east end of the moat immediately adjacent to the round Bastion Tower below the Keep mound (see Plan A). He was quoting Bishop Skirlaw but says nothing about the original date of construction (Skirlaw Copyhold books B. 431 & 465).

The Victoria County History attributes the destruction of the Barbican and the filling of the moat to Bishop Cosin (1660 - 1672). This is based on a letter written by the Bishop to his architect, Christopher Scurrey on the 6th of May 1665:-

> The said Christopher Scurrey shall pull downe the wall on the right hand goeing from the Gatehouse of Durham Castle to the Exchequer Building and alsoe to pull downe all the old walls on the left side of the Gatehouse incompassing the castle Mote garden to Baitman's house, with the two tirrett towers before the said Gatehouse and to ridd and make foundation for new walls before the said castle gates...
>
> ...And the said Christopher Scurrey to cast out the rubbish, loose earth and metall which shall be occasioned by the said worke to help fill up the hollow of the ground to levell the passage between the Gate house and the Exchequer... (Cosin 1872, 379)

The first paragraph seems to say fairly clearly that Cosin cleared the Barbican area, and surviving visual evidence would suggest that he may have been responsible for the present form of the approach and the Master's Garden (see chapter 4). The stonework in those areas would appear to have been renewed later, perhaps when Wyatt remodelled the Gatehouse.

The Fellow's Garden area of the moat course is still deeper than the rest of the course - it is not clear whether this area has been artificially levelled down or simply less levelled up than elsewhere. The former is the most likely since it can be seen that the plinth at the base of the old Exchequer wall and some of the foundations beneath now rest proud of the present ground surface (see below and Elevation 6).

The second paragraph quoted from the letter speaks of a hollow in this area suggesting that the moat had been previously filled in. Cosin, after all, could have told his architect simply to fill in the ditch or moat in front of the castle.

FELLOWS' GARDEN EXCAVATIONS (Plate 4)

These excavations took place in the summer of 1991 on the east side of the Fellows' Garden in advance of a new building that was to be built as new office accommodation for the College. The new block was to sit about two metres into the ground so that it should not rise above the present Barbican wall and spoil the aspect of the approach (Plan A).

Accordingly, this material was excavated archaeologically as it was clearly in the region known to have been occupied by the moat. Unfortunately no report is yet available from the contractors and the interim report appears delayed. The following account is based on the author's own observations at the time and personal comments made by the director of the excavations, Richard Fraser.

The late infill of Bishop Cosin was not specifically identified but a great deal of stone work, including architectural pieces was found, presumably, (from Cosin's letter above), from the demolition of the Barbican. While these pieces included twelfth century material, a fuller analysis will be needed before any detailed information can be derived from them.

The excavation restricted itself to the material that would be removed for the new building. The excavated material dated between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries and it appeared the moat had been gradually backfilled by refuse. The Exchequer was built outside the defences of the moat by Bishop Neville (1438 - 1457) and perhaps the moat was little more than a hollow in the ground by this time, as is later mentioned in the letter of Bishop Cosin (quoted above). The excavation did not reach primary layers of infill in the moat. On the south side, however, part of a stone building was discovered together with a cobbled surface into which the stone building cut (Plate 172). Neither seems to respect the moat and it can be suggested that these may be survivals from the original pre-moat archaeology. It could be seen, however, that there had also been a number of recuts of the moat profile and thus these structures may have had respect to an earlier alignment cut of the moat course.

BARBICAN EXCAVATIONS

The Barbican has been completely remodelled as described above. According to the Jones plan of 1904 (Plan S and see Plans A & D), it was sited where the outer gate and approach of the castle is at present, on the north west corner of Palace Green (Frontis and Plates 1 and 2).

Gee ascribes the construction of the outer gate to Bishop Flambard and mentions that excavations took place in this area in 1898 (Gee 1928, 68). This, presumably, is the source for the information displayed on the Jones plan, although in the text there is no reference to any report or record of the work, if indeed such exists. This information may be an aside by Jones who, as architect to the castle, could have observed the excavations personally.

According to the Victoria County History text, the Barbican excavations revealed a ninety foot length of wall (aligned north-south presumably), with an outer tower and gate. Gee attributed the uneven settlement of the Gatehouse to Bishop Barrington (1791-1826) building over part of the wall of the Barbican on the east and also partly the old fill of the moat (Gee 1928, 68).

If Gee's ideas about the Barbican were correct it would suggest that the moat came right up to the south side of the Gatehouse or that, possibly, there was a length of the moat that branched off around the Keep mound, separating it from the Inner Bailey.

RECENT WORK IN THE BARBICAN (Plan D)

Recent work in the Barbican revealed apparently intact seventeenth century kerbstones, associated with demolition deposits only half a metre down from the present surface (Appendix K and Elevation 3). Assuming that this was the kerb of Bishop Cosin's roadway, it can be seen from the section (Elevation 3) that the modern kerb directly overlies it. The associated material suggested that the present road surface was re-laid not later than the late nineteenth century and the evidence of the kerbs suggests that the approach looks today very much as it did in Bishop Cosin's day.

Evidence from service trenches cut for the new office building suggested that the two sides of the Barbican area have been treated differently (Plan D, trenches DX93C1 and DX93C2). The west side appears to have been dug out and refilled with material that was devoid of any archaeological dating evidence. This was presumably after the seventeenth century demolition as the soil overlies those deposits and is also partly over the kerb to the seventeenth century roadway (Elevation 3). The east side is also clearly disturbed above the demolition deposits but there is still much dating material in the soil base to the present lawn. Apart from one or two nineteenth century scraps, however, this appears mainly residual.

A chamber cut for a drain on the east side of the Barbican revealed a short length (c. .5m) of wall with a dressed stone facing on the east side and a rubble core. The west face of this wall was not uncovered. The excavation here was carried out by workmen rather clandestinely - the observation of the wall was by luck. Due to their pressure to fill the trench in it was not possible to make a detailed plan. The position of the wall fragment was recorded and a photo taken (Plate 5). This wall would probably correlate with the wall discovered by Gee and Jones as mentioned above. They may well, in the fashion of earlier antiquarians, simply have followed the wall to the outer tower, digging out the archaeological deposits to either side, regarding the stonework as the 'real' find.

It is not clear what the situation on the west side of the Barbican was. Although in the course of the new office servicing a considerable amount of fill was extracted, no sign of a wall corresponding to that observed on the east, was seen. It would appear that the west side of the Barbican is slightly higher that the east side and thus the same level was not reached in this area. As the observed demolition deposits, stonework included, seem to be to a specific flat level, it cannot be assumed that the west wall was removed but simply that it lies at a deeper level than was excavated. It is also possible that the west wall was largely removed by Christopher Scurrey so as to facilitate the throwing of demolition material from the Barbican area into the old moat hollow.

A section across the roadway just to the south of the outer gate showed intact deposits with service trenches cut through them. The section to the north of the outer

gate shows a fairly similar fill down to the top of the demolition deposits (Both sections are shown on Elevation 3). It would seem that Gee/Jones dug most of the Barbican area out to facilitate the laying of the new roadway and lawns and that the walls they describe were observed at that time. The roadway itself, bar the service trenches may retain a more intact sequence.

Once the outer defence to the Inner Bailey, the Barbican merely serves at present as an approach to the College buildings. Since the walls and outer gate were restored as part of Wyatt's works, the area is now devoid of any visible historic features save perhaps the lime trees which may be contemporary with Wyatt's restorations of the Gatehouse.

THE GATEHOUSE (Plates 1, 2, 6, 7, & 8)

The Gatehouse has twin projecting towers, half the height of the central tower, with a recessed entrance between them. The entrance itself is made through a Romanesque arch of three orders, apparently original (Plate 6). Most of the stonework of the Gatehouse appears new. The newest stone was inserted at the time of the renovation in early 1993; it is assumed that the older but still sharply cut stone was the result of Wyatt's restoration at the beginning of the nineteenth century. None of the restored stonework makes any attempt to copy the sculpture of the Romanesque period with the exception of the capitals supporting the arches, which are scalloped (Plate 6). The voussoirs of the ordered arches are very worn, however, and are sculpted with delicate and shallow chevron ornament whilst the soffit of the inner arch is decorated with sunken star design (Plate 7). The middle and outer orders are supported on scalloped capitals with plain abaci with a slight chamfer on the upper edge, which in turn rest on semi-circular attached shafts. The stone of the capitals and shafts is very clean and sharp and is restored, probably in the eighteenth or nineteenth century.

The present form of the Gatehouse may be attributed to the work of James Wyatt who carried out a comprehensive scheme of restoration on behalf of Bishop Barrington as part of the above mentioned work (Appendix K; Gee 1928, 69). The older chevron

work on the orders of the arches compares well with the known work of Bishop Rufus (1133 - 1140) remains of which survive in the west facade of the Cathedral Chapter House (Plate 9), and also with the decorative work of Bishop Flambard (1099 - 1128) on the ribbing and supporting arches of the Cathedral nave (Plate 10).

The present wooden door dates from the time of Bishop Tunstall (1530 - 1559) according to Leland (1964 72-4; see also Appendix B). It is assumed that Tunstall reset the arch at the present level since the original Norman level is at least two metres below the present level at this point (see Appendix L). The jointing of the voussoirs is irregular and at the apex of the outer arch, a small flat slab has been inserted to compensate for the otherwise obvious gap. At the apex of the present vaulting of the gate entrance is a reset boss which appears to be Romanesque in style. Recently cleaned, it depicts a lion surrounded by a fine, scaled serpent which bites its own tail (Plate 8).

Internally the Gatehouse retains some early masonry. Elevation 4 shows the door on the ground floor, on the west side of the Gatehouse, which was uncovered during the recent alterations. The grey coloured masonry depicts surviving twelfth century stonework whilst the inserted brick arch of Wyatt's "restoration" can be clearly seen. Both brick and stone were removed in the recent work; a rectangular opening was simply knocked through both. It is assumed, however, that other vestiges of the early construction survive elsewhere in the building.

GARDEN STAIRS WALL (Plate 11)

From the Gatehouse a wall runs west to a square building, known as Garden Stairs (Plans A and Plate 11). In its present form the wall is relatively plain but bears three loophole style crosses of a similar style to those used by Wyatt to decorate his restored "Gothic" Gatehouse. These do not pierce the wall but are simply recessed on either side (Elevation 6).

An examination of the wall on its south side shows a significant difference between the fabric at the base of the wall which is roughly dressed and set, as compared with the clean, obviously quite recent work of the upper twenty feet or so (Plate 11). A

plinth or offset is also visible on this side set at approximately sixty centimetres off the present garden level and another at one metre (Elevation 6). The Exchequer building which stands on the south side of the present garden and on the northwest corner of Palace Green (Plans A & R) also displays a plinth about twenty centimetres proud of the ground level. The north west buttress on that building has plinths sixty centimetres above the ground and ninety centimetres above the ground so there has clearly been some levelling down of the ground surface in this area in the past.

The wall is believed at its base to be original eleventh/twelfth century work (Gee 1928, 70). Gee recorded the blocking of late medieval style windows in this wall. The traces of these have gone but evidence survives in the visual record (Plates 96, 97, and 99). He also said that there were traces of foundations for a building adjacent to the wall on its north side, built between the Gatehouse and the Garden Stairs building and again the visual evidence confirms that this was the case (see chapter 4). These foundations may relate to the long structure which is shown in this position on both the Lambert plan and the eighteenth century plan (plans B & C). These plans also show the windows piercing the Garden Stairs wall. Gee recorded, without citing a reference, that Bishop Barrington ran a flue from the Gatehouse through this wall.

During the recent alterations in this area, a small square trench inserted just adjacent to this wall uncovered a massive early foundation. The detail is shown on Plan F and probably represents the foundation of the old wall pulled down by Scurrey in the 1660s. This trench also showed that concrete has been laid down to at least six inches below the present ground surface - it is not clear how this may have affected the survival of the aforementioned foundations in this area.

GARDEN STAIRS (Plate 12)

Garden Stairs itself is attributed by Gee to the Norman period but it has clearly undergone many alterations with different styles and thicknesses of wall being present

(Gee 1928, 70 ; Plans A & G and Plate 12). On the Lambert plan of 1796 (Plan B) it is simply recorded as "Apartment built by Bp Cosin". No earlier name is known. There is some evidence for alteration on the north side of the building. This is probably to accommodate the cross wing between this building and the end of the Great Hall, enclosing a small courtyard area. The present facade bears the crest of Bishop Cosin (1660 - 1672) - a gold lozenge with a cross on an azure background. This represents its last major structural change.

THE LOW TOWER

This name I have given to the low building adjacent to the kitchen and on the south side of it (Plate 14). No previous name is recorded. In plan it is an irregular polygon with very thick walls but original internal details are incomplete (Plans A & G and Appendix M).

The upper part of the building is now occupied by a residential flat and it is known that there is a space beneath the floor. Gee suggested that it had been a latrine block for the kitchen but it is not known how far he had investigated this possibility (Gee 1928, 70). It is difficult to make out how direct access from the kitchen would be possible. During the recent conversion of this building, access was gained to this area and a shaft discovered. The construction and nature of the shaft suggested that it had been in use as an oubliette or type of deep vertical prison into which felons could be lowered (Appendix M ; Plate 15). This tower may have been a variety of guard tower adjacent to the early gate. The present access is post-Medieval in date, through the Garden Stairs building.

THE KITCHEN TOWER & BUTTERY

This is a great square tower sited on the south west angle of the castle's Inner Bailey, now housing the kitchens and known to have done so from at least the days of Bishop Fox (1494 - 1501 ; Plates 13, 14, 16, 17, 18, and 19).

Its twelfth century date is suggested by a blocked opening on the west side of the tower. This opening appears to be contemporary with the fabric, but is now obscured by a later buttress (Plate 16). It is round headed with a very weathered arch which rests on capitals, also very weathered, with plain abaci and plain detached circular nook shafts. This would appear to match the form of the windows surviving at the west end of the North Hall (Plate 61) but closer inspection is needed of the Kitchen Tower opening which is in a difficult position to be sure of its detail.

On the south side of the tower two other features of Romanesque style survive. One is still a window, opening onto the back of the western of the Kitchen's two fireplaces. The external detail has been completely restored and has the form of a plain round headed lancet of indeterminate Romanesque date (Plates 18 & 19).

Slightly to the east and above this window, in restored fabric, is a remnant of another round headed opening. It is wider than the lancet and the arch is of plain voussoirs. It is cut by the lancet suggesting more than one campaign of building for this tower (Plate 18).

The Kitchen is ascribed by Gee to Du Puiset's time, perhaps from the architectural details, and it is often now referred to as "Pudsey's Keep", although there appears no evidence that it ever served as such. (Gee 1928, 70).

Unfortunately when the stone floor of the kitchen was replaced a few years ago, no opportunity was made for archaeological investigation. An examination of a stretch of fabric on the lower part of the north wall of this building, however, suggests that the layout was different in earlier times.

This fabric is visible in the boiler room attached to the lower north side and accessible from the rooms under the Servery and Buttery. The fabric here is dressed and

laid ashlar with close set buttressing similar to that seen on the south wall of the North range.

An enclosed courtyard on the north side of the Kitchen Tower, the Buttery is known to have been furnished to its present appearance by Bishop Fox (1494 - 1501). His emblem, a "pelican in her piety", is on the hatches on the south side. The timber work is dated by a carved legend on the hatches, which reads "1499 Est Deo Gratia". Fox's stair turret is at the north west angle of the courtyard. The lower part has been entirely divided to form guest rooms and it would be difficult now to recover the original internal plan. On the inner or west side of the east wall a large blocked arch of fourteenth century date is visible in the present Kitchen office.

The chamber to the west of the Buttery, now a student room, is much altered. In Fox's day it appears to have served as a bakery and brewhouse - the remnants of ovens and vats survive on the north wall and in the lower level of Buttress R (Plan S) on which the building sits. It may have been constructed by Fox as part of his Kitchen design but the original form has been damaged and it is not clear what its date might be. A different history is suggested by the fabric below the present Buttery level.

Well made ashlar is visible to a depth of at least twenty feet below the present floor, although more recent additions and renovations make it difficult to see what is happening at the base of the wall. The appearance however, is that of an outside wall without openings and therefore very defensive. Unfortunately the insertion of a boiler into the already cramped and badly lit space make it impossible to take a photograph that would show any detail.

At least one scholar has suggested that the kitchens may have always been in this position relative to the Great Hall and that Bishop Fox's "rebuilding" was merely a case of refitting the existing arrangements to his own taste (P.J.Drury pers. comm.). It may be borne in mind, however, that all the exposed walls of this building have a defensive aspect. How far this was governed by the topographical position on the important west side of the castle and how far by the building's function is hard to determine. The evidence of the lower wall would suggest that before the days of Bishop Fox (1494 -

1501), the West Courtyard was more extensive than now, almost a small Bailey in its own right, overlooked by the Hall and the Kitchen Tower (Phase Plan VI).

Gee claimed that internal traces revealed that the building had several levels and it may have been he who was responsible for the building's modern appellation of "Pudsey's Keep"(Gee 1928, 70). Certainly there are no traces now visible of internal divisions. Nor is there any sign of an opening giving access to the Low Tower but this is adjacent to that wall which supports Fox's great brick chimney so any details may be hidden in the chimney shaft.

Given the proximity of the tower to the Great Hall which so far as we know had no separate arrangements, it is reasonable to suggest that the Kitchens were housed on this site from an early date.

THE SERVERY

The present Servery building to the north of the Buttery (Plans A & H) was constructed by Bishop Trevor (1752 - 1771) and is noted on the 1904 plan as lodgings for the housekeeper and butler (Gee 1928, 71). It is set within the West Courtyard and replaces a smaller building constructed by Fox and shown on the castle plan of 1775 (Plan C).

THE GREAT HALL (Plates 20 - 28)

This is a very large, long, rectangular building on the west side of the Inner Bailey (Plan A & H ; Elevation 9). The south wall contains a fine pair of windows constructed in mid-fourteenth century style rising from ground floor level to the roof (Plate 22). The east wall of the Hall faces the courtyard and is externally divided into sections by vertical buttresses, one at the south-east corner and three on the face. These may mark the positions of original buttresses but each is now topped with a cupola and appears to be the work of Bishop Cosin (1660 - 1672).

The southernmost section of the east face as been much altered by the insertion of hood moulded rectangular windows reflecting the internal horizontal divisions inserted at this end of the Hall (Appendix H, Elevation 9). The south wall has been similarly

affected. In the nineteenth century there was a further insertion of an oriel window by the University.

The next vertical section of the east wall contains the porch added by Bishop Cosin in the seventeenth century to the original thirteenth century entrance (Plates 24 & 25). Above the door, on the face of the wall, is a set of four coats of arms identified as Bishop Cosin; Bishop Hatfield; Archdeacon Westle and Dr. Grey (Gee 1928, 74).

The two end sections of the east wall each contain a single large Gothic style window restored by the University in the nineteenth century. Internally the Hall is divided both vertically and horizontally. The vertical division is just south of the main entrance. South of that division, floor levels have been altered several times and at present contain the College Cellar, the Library, and student rooms in ascending order.

North of the main vertical division the building is horizontally divided into two; the lower part is the Undercroft, which is described below and the upper part is the Hall proper.

The most intact early window of the Hall is that in the centre of the west wall (Plate 26). It has a pointed, two-centred arch, two lights, jambs with detached and ringed shafts finished with moulded capitals; the base and sill of the window are cut off by the later Servery door.

At the north end of the west wall some fragments of another window were found when the Black Parlour, created by Bishop Neile (1617 - 1628), was removed in the early nineteenth century by the newly founded University (Gee 1928, 74). Part lengths of two shafts can be seen which match those of the window just described. The form of the arch cannot be seen although Gee confidently ascribed it to Hatfield without citing any evidence.

The southernmost window on the west wall has had its pointed arch replaced by a four-centred late Medieval type; it has two lights, the jambs are chamfered but otherwise plain and the sill, cut off by the Victorian panelling, has been restored clumsily, in a higher position, with concrete (Plate 27).

The north window was inserted to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the University and is supposed to have replaced a Hatfield window of similar design (Plate 23). No original windows survive in the east wall but the two Victorian Gothic Revival windows probably occupy the original positions (Plate 20). Due to the nineteenth century plaster work of the University, no blocked windows are visible, save that on the west wall, as noted above.

The round headed west entrance from the Buttery is quite tall but the monumental detail is obscured by later plaster work (Plate 28).

The main entrance to the Hall is on the east side at the south end (Plate 25). Although worn, it is clearly work of the second half of the thirteenth century. It has a two centred arch of two moulded orders resting on moulded capitals, supported by engaged, filleted, three quarter round shafts. It is clear, despite the weathering, that the capitals were richly decorated but all the original detail is lost. There are two stone pulpits on the east and west walls just north of the two entrances. Lambert attributes these to Bishop Fox but they may well date back to the time of Hatfield's extension (Lambert 1796, 7 ; Gee 1928, 74).

The present Hall was constructed by Bishop Bek (1283 - 1311) and supported on the early Norman Undercroft. Bek presumably demolished the original west building to the Undercroft level. There is no documentary record of this but an external fifteen centimetre offset in the coursing of the east wall probably shows where the new work begins (Plate 29).

THE SERVANTS' QUARTERS

Bishop Hatfield extended the Great Hall to the south by about thirty feet about the year 1350 (De Chambre 1839, 138 ; Gee 1928, 73). Two partly blocked, but otherwise intact, fourteenth century windows in the south wall appear as part of this work (Plate 22). At the end of the fifteenth century, Bishop Fox cut the Hall back down to its original length by inserting the Screens Passage wall which still bears his emblem of the

pelican (De Chambre 1839, 150 ; Gee 1928, 74). On the 1904 plan the cut off section was labelled as the Servants' Hall but is now in use as the library (Plans A & S).

THE UNDERCROFT (Plate 30)

The early Norman Undercroft supporting the Great Hall is one of the earliest and plainest features surviving in the castle (Plan J). The rectangular area enclosed by the building is divided in two by a north-south arcade (Appendix H; Elevation 11) The arcade consists of eight round-headed arches, irregular in size and curvature. These arches are very plain with undecorated rectangular voussoirs and no imposts - the arches spring directly from the square stone foundations which support them. The stone foundations themselves all exhibit a building break in the fabric above the present ground level. The arch that forms the tunnel-like entrance to the West Courtyard is about four times wider than those in the main body of the Undercroft and is of slightly different construction (Plate 31).

The north end of the Undercroft has undergone radical alteration. The present arrangement provides toilets for the College Bar but this is very recent (since 1967). The previous arrangement is detailed on the 1967 electrical installation plan (Plan K).

The east wall has been rebuilt internally at some point - the arcade is filled with brickwork of a type not earlier than the 18th century. The openings in this wall are single narrow round-headed loops with plain jambs and monolithic heads externally, although apart from the quoins, the splays have been internally rebuilt in brick (Plate 34). They are stepped on the inside and appear to be original to the Norman building There is one surviving opening on the west side (Plate 35 &. Elevation 10). This has a narrower splay than the windows on the east and is altogether deeper but the thickness of the wall suggests that this may have been an external wall originally; the date of the present West Courtyard is not known. The west window also has a monolithic head and the splay and jambs are of stone. The wall itself is constructed of coursed stone and the coursing is not entirely level (Appendix H; Elevation 10)

The West Courtyard area is attached to the Undercroft on its north-west corner. Two round-headed arches form a separate arcade on the east side of the West Courtyard.

These are even more crude and irregular than those in the main arcade, with a sub-circular curvature and voussoirs of many sizes and shapes (Plate 32). The southern of the two arches has been broken through in antiquity (Plate 130). It would seem that these two arches were intended to strengthen the wall here; possibly because it was felt that the wall was too close to the cliff, or perhaps a greater weight of masonry was constructed here. On the external north wall of this area is a blocked opening; its semi-circular arch has been restored. Unfortunately the very plain form of the opening makes close dating very difficult (Plate 37).

The south wall of the Undercroft is of particular interest. The jointing suggests that this wall is either later than the rest of the Undercroft and added to it, or it is earlier and it is the Undercroft which is added. The blocked opening which survives in it as a recess appears to be of a very early date (Plate 36). It is only 40 or so centimetres wide but at least 1.5 metres tall - the base is obscured by the College Bar which is built against it. The construction is of plain jambs and voussoirs and it has no splay. The arch soffit is flattened but is not clear whether this is original or has occurred over the course of time. Also, the voussoirs do not meet in a regular curve at the top of the arch but are staggered, with the remaining space filled with a small wedge shaped piece, such is seen in some arch constructions of Saxon work (W.Rodwell, pers. comm). This of course could be post - Conquest Saxon work (Taylor 1984, 852)

It is a curious fact that the Undercroft is not mentioned or illustrated by any of the main historians. Those who give it notice are usually late in date - the first mention is in the late 19th century (Boyle 1890, 166) and then only the briefest remark. Boyle notes that the south window is of a different construction to the others and says that also at this point there is "the commencement of a staircase with a handrail cut out of its side wall" (1892, 170).

The 1904 plan shows a stair rising from the Undercroft at this end to the south end of the Servery (Plan S). This is also where the students' bar is now sited and this work seems to have removed all of the evidence of the features described by Boyle. Gee's description for the Victoria County History in 1928 is the first full description of

the Undercroft. If it was recently rebuilt or restored, there is likewise no record of the work. The 1967 plan shows a division down the centre. It was confirmed to me that these divisions were wooden partitions and that the area was being used for storage in the 1950s (Dr. A.I. Doyle, pers. comm.). Possibly the whole Undercroft was blocked off and only made accessible recently but again there is no record of who opened it up and when the work was done.

THE BLACK STAIRS (Plate 38)

The Black Stairs were created by Bishop Cosin (1660 - 1672), the contract for their construction being dated 1st April 1663 (Cosin 1872, 90). It is not clear what had previously occupied the site (Plan A, H & L). There is a circular newel stair surviving at the west end of the North Hall. The first floor level exit from this stair onto the Black Stairs has a plain arch supported on side pieces decorated with dog tooth ornament, but the construction suggests that these pieces may have been re-used from a string course whose original position is not known (Plates 47 and 48). This exit would open onto thin air if there were not some construction here so it may be inferred, if not known in detail.

The addition of the Black Stairs to the north-west corner of the Courtyard has obscured much archaeological detail of the junction between the Great Hall of Bek (1284- 1311) and the twelfth century Hall on the north side. However, examination of the fabric immediately adjacent to the corner reveals evidence as to the earlier arrangements.

On the lowest level, that of the Lower Tunstall Gallery, at the west end, a construction can be seen, sealed within the present wall. It appears to be the corner of a construction adjoining both the Great Hall and the North Hall - the straight edge of its east wall can be clearly seen and also the base of the wall, ending in a double chamfered plinth (Plate 40). At a height of about ten courses above the plinth the straight edge is interrupted by what appears to be either a cornice or projecting string course. This is at the point immediately below the ceiling and the wall above has been rebuilt.

The first floor level of the Great Hall's east wall has further survivals from the earlier castle. The upper half of the exposed masonry is composed of well dressed and laid ashlar masonry similar to that which can be seen on the external face of Bek's Hall. Integral with this masonry are the fragments of what appears to be a blocked opening, or re-used block of masonry, perhaps a lancet window (Plate 41). The lower half of the wall is composed of very different roughly dressed and set masonry, similar to that seen in the Undercroft and Norman Chapel. The division between the two builds is much higher than the offset which can be seen elsewhere in the building. That offset clearly seems to mark the division between the earlier construction on the west side and the later rebuild of Bek (1284 - 1311). The masonry incorporating the higher division is also to the east of the main line of the Great Hall east wall. If this is indeed part of an earlier construction adjoining the two halls, the fabric on the lower part of the wall would pre-date the work of Bek. This would set a minimum height for the building on the west side which, given the height of the wall, would either have been two storied or have had a heightened end section perhaps doubling as a tower. This is interesting, given that that it is also at this end that the two relieving arches strengthen the lower west wall and the east wall has been thickened (Plate 131).

As has been described, the actual junction between the Great Hall of Bek and the twelfth century Hall is obscured by the later addition of the Black Stairs. Within the Black Stairs Tower however, the immediate area of the junction of the two buildings, on the ground floor, is obscured by the later addition of masonry of at least two phases.

The stonework which extends to the east, beyond where the buried wall face (Plate 40) can be seen, appears very recent. The area sealed behind the extended wall mainly houses the electric power boxes and meters for the two buildings. A passage has been left, however, between the added wall and the original south wall of the North Range. This is located at the south-west corner of the Range, adjacent to the newel stair, (Plan L & Plate 132) and has preserved some of the early archaeology and left it for inspection.

At the east end of the passage the south wall of the North Range continues with the relieving arches which can be seen along most of its length (discussed below and see Appendix H ; Elevation 14). The floor of this part of the passage consists either of dumped soil or more likely, of compacted sand and soil which may have blown into the passage from outside (see remarks about outer door below). About three metres to the west the floor rises by two crudely made stone steps and to the north a circular newel stair opens (Plans A & L). This stair is undoubtedly one of those spoken of by Gee (1928, 78) and has a similar construction to that at the south-east corner of the North Range but a smaller diameter (Plate 133). The floor here is of wooden planks and the stair would appear to descend at least two steps below this level.

To the west a further opening gives on to a narrow low cramped passage, aligned north - south, with a garderobe shaft towards the north end (Plate 134). The floor of the passage consists entirely of sand with occasional chippings which would appear to have cracked from the adjacent walls which are damp and exfoliating. A small doorway now with a wooden door at the end of the passage gives onto the slope below the west end of the North Range. The door, which does not seem to be very ancient, although its date is unknown, is ill-fitting and this gap is undoubtedly the reason for much of the sand and blown material in both passages.

An old foundation is visible at the south end of the passage and underlying the east wall of the passage (Plate 135). The foundation extends across the passage and disappears under the west wall. This foundation or demolished wall is largely buried in the sand but would not appear to be connected with the walls of the passage, being on a slightly different alignment - 10 degrees more to the west (Plan T). The wall which overlies it on the east is not part of the North Hall but again is on an altogether different alignment. This wall contains part of an early string course made of a large chamfered block (Plate 136). This recalls both the form of the string course in the Norman Chapel and the loose block in the demolition fill to the west of the Chapel (Plates 137 and 138). That fill is believed to have derived from the demolition work of Bishop Flambard in the early twelfth century. The loose block within it would possibly come from a

construction dating to the eleventh century (see below, page 36 and Appendix N). Both of these parallels suggest that the wall fragment preserved in the garderobe passage is also of an eleventh century date. If this is a surviving fragment of an earlier building, this suggests that stone was employed at an early date in the Inner Bailey. It also emphasises the interest of the underlying wall in implying that the demolished length is placed very early indeed in the chronology of the site.

THE NORTH RANGE (Plate 38, & 42)

The North Hall still contains much Romanesque fabric and the larger part of it would seem to originate from the twelfth century (Plans A & L ; Elevations 12, 13, 15, and 20). The original arrangement of buildings along this side of the Inner Bailey, i.e. in the eleventh century, is not known although some ideas can perhaps be suggested.

The west end of the North Hall (Plate 42)

A question mark hangs over precisely what is happening at the west end of the North Hall, under the present Chaplain's Suite. There are no openings visible in the north wall of the passage described above and no apparent access from the suite. It recalls the very similar area at the east end which excavations showed to have incorporated eleventh century demolition levels (Leyland 1987). Recent maintenance work on pipes in this area revealed a hole through the apex of one the relieving arches. As far as could be seen by torchlight, the area below the southern room of the Chaplain's Suite is completely full of soil and sand to within 30 cm of the floor boards.

There is evidence that the west end of the building may not be contemporary with the rest of the Hall. In plan, at the upper levels, it can be seen that the west end is on a slightly different alignment from the main body of the Hall and the north and south walls are of greater thickness. In elevation other architectural differences appear. At first floor level, the main body of the building has an offset but towards the west the same position is replaced by a plain chamfer (Plates 43 & 44). Close examination of the offset,

however, reveals that it has been severely chiselled and it may be that the chamfer was simply tidied up and squared off in this area. The main part of the Hall has a circular newel stair in the south-east corner (Plan L and Plate 49). The west end has a corresponding newel stair in the south-west corner but the construction is slightly different and the diameters of the two stairs also differ (Plate 47). There is also a larger circular stair just to the east of the main entrance (Plate 50). Gee speaks of there having been another newel stair at the west end on the north corner but his evidence for this is not given (Gee 1928, 78).

Jones claimed in his article on the city walls that the North range had turrets at the east and west sides (presumably the source of Gee's remark concerning the north-west newel stair; above) and that there were two intermediate turrets, "the foundations of which still exist" (Jones 1922, 241 - 246).

A number of dotted lines are shown adjacent to the North Hall's north side but these are too fragmentary to be made much of at this time (Plans A & S).

One feature that is continuous from east to west is the arcade of relieving arches which underpin and support the south wall (Plate 45 ; Appendix H, Elevation 14). A set of six arches run from the west to the east; they begin just east of the circular newel stair at the south-west corner of the building and the arch furthest east terminates just west of the modern tunnel entrance to the Norman Chapel. Each side springs from stone pads and the pads also have small chamfered imposts. The voussoirs are very well dressed and the arches pierce through the full thickness of the wall. The space under the arches is infilled with high quality dressed stone. A close examination of Elevation 14, however, reveals anomalies in the curve of the voussoirs, in each arch, at approximately the same level. The impression given is that that the tops of the arches have been renewed or rebuilt.

The North-West Tower (Plate 46)

On the north-west corner of the North Hall is the construction now known as "King John's Tower" although it is not known when this appellation came into use (Plan A &

L). This is not a true tower but rather a tower-like buttress clasping the north-west corner and may have been built to counteract slippage or collapse. It is conventionally dated to the period 1208 - 1217 when the castle was in the King's hands. The Pipe Rolls for the thirteenth and fourteenth years of his reign record that repairs and works were carried out at the castle and the tower is generally supposed to be included in these references (Chapter 2, page 63).

The uppermost room in this tower, now a student room, has a vaulted roof with finely made pointed arches but the windows have been renewed. Just adjacent to this room the twelfth century construction of the west window of the North Hall has been damaged, it would seem in antiquity, by the evidence of an inserted capital of *circa* 1200 A.D. onto a broken shaft (Plate 51).

A curiosity at this end of the Hall is the first floor passage leading to the bathroom area in the Chaplain's Suite and over the bath itself (Plate 52). The roof of the passage is vaulted with semi-circular Norman arches which appear at first sight to be undecorated and relatively early. They are, in fact, decorated with chevron designs and late twelfth century ornament but these cannot be seen by anyone using the passage in the normal way. Only those coming from the outside of the tower would see the decoration properly. As far as is known, there never was any "outside" to the tower here - the earliest prints and plans show no buildings adjacent at this point and the passage would have opened out at first floor level into thin air.

It has been noticed that the floor of the student room in this tower does not coincide with the ceiling of the Chaplain's Suite below. In fact the gap between the two is something like one and a half metres but so far no access into this space has been detected. The access may have been destroyed when Bishop Trevor (1752 - 1771) created the modern Bishop' apartments which are at the west end of the Hall and adjacent to this area. On the north face of the north wall of those apartments, behind what is now the fireplace, an old doorway is visible. this now opens onto space confirming that the levels at this end of the North Hall have been considerably changed

and rearranged. An examination of the ceiling in the Chaplain's Suite bathroom area reveals it to comprise flat sandstone slabs of approximately five inches thick at least.

Presumably these also provide the floor for the missing room/space. The area below the present floor level of the Chaplain's suite is much obscured by sand and rubble. There appear to have been steps leading up from the original Norman apartments at the west end to a garderobe which is constructed to the west of the steps. The shaft is intact and apparently was not filled with concrete like many other spaces were in the 1930's restoration of the north side. About one metre down in the shaft and lodged in the south side is a large timber. This timber, twenty centimetres in diameter at least, was probably put in during the construction of the shaft. Over the centuries it has shrunk and worked loose. It could now be removed and could possibly provide a dendrochronological date for one of the earlier areas of the castle. Another garderobe opening is visible directly above this shaft and presumably originally giving onto the missing space in the tower.

The Central North Hall (Plan L)

It is clear that although later fabric overlays have been added and floor levels changed, the core of the twelfth century Hall survives relatively intact.

Moving from west to east, the Hall comprises the following present arrangements. At the west end are apartments in a vertical set of two. These are the Chaplain's Suite and over that the Bishop's Apartments, both of which have already been alluded to. There appears to be nothing below the Chaplain's rooms, while a scar on the wall above the Bishop's Suite suggests that there was a corresponding set of rooms on the level of the present Norman Gallery (Plate 53).

The present access at the west end of the Norman Gallery is via the Black Stairs (Plate 71). The original ascent appears to have been a circular newel stair on the south west corner (Plate 133). This has been truncated halfway up by the insertion of the Bishop's Apartments and the top space, originally occupied by the stair, has been converted into an office (Plan M). West of this stack is the Senior Common Room, a

large and tall eighteenth century room probably representing the remnants of the original Hall space.

Gee mentioned that there is a range of fifteenth century windows behind the stucco of the south wall of the present Senior Common Room (1928, 81). These are now concealed behind the paintings on the south wall (Plate 59). It is clear that the bases of the windows represent original splayed Norman openings to the Hall space and that the tops were renewed. Their form is of wide splayed openings stepped to the inside and some of the stones are inscribed with mason's marks, similar to those which are still visible on the stonework of the Norman Gallery in the same building. The upper halves of these windows clearly match in style and form the surviving example at the west end of the building, adjacent to the Black Stairs. and now opening into the Bishop's bathroom (Elevation 12). The arch is cusped and four centred in a late fifteenth century form suggesting that the work was carried out by Bishop Fox (1494 - 1501) whom Gee believed to have altered the apartments at this point (Gee 1928, 81). The ceiling of the bathroom is believed to be Fox's work and it continues into the Common Room space.

West and immediately adjacent of the Senior Common Room are two rooms - the Octagon Room about half a floor above and the Judges' Kitchen below the Octagon Room (Plan L). The Judges' Kitchen is believed to have been constructed by Bishop Fox (thus Gee 1928, 81) but this may be a misunderstanding of earlier references (e.g. Hutchinson 1785, 375-6). The Octagon Room appears from its interior to be of the eighteenth century and Gee suggests Bishop Egerton as the executor of this work (Gee 1928, 80).

There is no firm date for the present arrangement of rooms within the north range, although Gee generally ascribes the Common Room to Bishop Butler (1750 - 1752) (Gee 1928, 79). The room is said to have been refitted by Sanderson Miller and the visual evidence confirms that it was altered at about this time (compare Plates 93 and 94 with Plate 103). He suggests that the Senate Suite arrangement was made by Bishop Neile (1617 - 28) who is known to have spent about three thousand pounds on the castle (Gee 1928, 89). The Senate Room is over the Norman Chapel; its interior fittings are

entirely of the seventeenth or eighteenth century. Beneath the floor it appears that the room is part of the original eleventh/twelfth century fabric. A splayed door connects to the North Hall and traces of a stone pavement and raised end section can be seen (Plans N & O). I suggested in a previous work that this space was the site of an early Chapel (Leyland 1987, summarised in Appendix N).

During the restorations in 1904, Jones found that behind the relieving arches and beneath the present Common Room floor there was a massive bank of sandy soil retained by a crude stone wall or revetment and that the foundations of the walls of the Hall were stepped to the inside, the north wall being 2' 6" or 75 centimetres lower than the south. This may have been to compensate for the natural curve of the slope but Jones suggested that this represented the remains of the original defences to the peninsula and pre-dated the castle (Greenwell & Hodges Letters no. 28 and Gee 1928, 79). The conservation measures of the 1930s unfortunately included the placing of huge concrete blocks or rafts to stabilise the movement in the building above. Although under floor heating has damaged much of the below floor evidence and made much else difficult to access, it is still possible to enter this area. In Jones' reference (cited above) the impression is given that almost the whole under floor space was filled with the soil. It was probably very similar to the space beneath the southern room of the Chaplain's Suite which is still full of this kind of material.

It is evident that in the 1930's work, a good deal of the material beneath the Common Room was removed to facilitate the placing of the concrete rafts. In one place, however, the two rafts are half a metre apart. The intervening space is filled with sandy soil identical with Jones' description. It is difficult to be dogmatic about whether this deposit is *in situ* or has been re-deposited. The workmen may have simply cleared out enough soil to give a firm platform for the rafts and sat the concrete within the soil - in boxes excavated to size, very similar to the method which might be used today. There is a chance, therefore, that enough remains of the original deposit to test whether something remains of the pre-castle archaeology on this site.

The main twelfth century first floor entrance to the Hall survives almost complete and is the best known feature of this building (Plates 55, 56, 57 and 58 ; Elevations E16 and E17). It is a magnificent doorway of three large and two small orders with a modern plaster moulding. The smaller orders run around the arch and jambs, and are only interrupted by the abaci. The middle and outer orders are decorated with a variety of chevron and lozenge ornament, enhanced by beaded strings in the spaces; the inner order is decorated with a series of square and rectangular moulded and sunk panels, each panel ornamented with beaded strings. The capitals are highly sculpted with masks, figures, and mitres on the volutes. The middle and outer orders are carried by circular nook shafts; the inner order is square, resting upon a triplet of engaged shafts and capitals as before and the orders are finished on the bottom with a chamfered plinth resting on a square base. Immediately adjacent and behind the doorway on its east side, is a large circular newel stair which ascends to the Norman Gallery level (Plate 50).

The Norman Gallery occupies the whole of the top level of the building (Plate 63 and Plan M). Most of the original windows on the north side, and all of the original windows visible from the courtyard on the south, were remodelled when a new facing was built onto the original wall. The replacement of the windows seems to have been carried out by Bishop Trevor (1752 - 1771) judging by the large coat of arms he placed on the newly re-faced south wall. The openings on the north seem to have been largely replaced; those on the south were hidden beneath an outer facade of stone and the openings were renewed in the new Gothic Revival style. The original forms, however, survive internally on the south side, at the west end, within the Black Stairs Tower and part of one opening survives internally in the middle of the north wall (Plates 61 and 139).

The north side of the Hall at Norman Gallery level was converted into the present rooms in the seventeenth or early eighteenth century by Lord Crewe (1674 - 1721) according to Gee (1928, 81). The present Senior Man's room, which is at the east end of the block, gives onto a thirteenth century tower on the north and the access is through a doorway with some Romanesque features (Plate 62). The door arch has a chamfered

rebate and is composed of well cut rectangular voussoirs springing directly from the wall on the east and supported on the west by an engaged shaft with the crudest of capitals. The shaft is scored with deep cuts and appears ancient and may be reused, although the capital may be contemporary with the insertion of the tower. The area between the main room and the tower has been converted to a small washroom. The north window of this area appears post-Medieval in style - perhaps seventeenth century, but externally on the North wall, at this point, the remains of the springing of a Romanesque arch can be still seen *in situ*. Because of the narrowness of the North Terrace it is extremely difficult to photograph this north wall fragment effectively. To assist the reader I have marked its approximate location on Elevation 13.

The south side of the block at this level is now a wide corridor with a fine surviving arcade of Romanesque triplets (Plates 63 and 64). Each triplet is formed of a central large window opening between two half-width blind arches, each supported on one corner by free standing columns with scalloped capitals and decorated with deep twelfth century chevron work visible from the interior. One triplet at the west end has collapsed (Plate 72); another at the east end appears to have been replaced in the fourteenth century.

The opening, at the point where the large newel stair ascends from below, is a well made Romanesque door of a single order, the arch alone decorated, with the same deep chevron as is evident on the windows (Plate 65).

There are also two important fragments of sculpture which have been overlooked by past visitors. The first is a fragment of sculpted chevron surviving at the base of a fragment of masonry, possibly a pilaster, at Norman Gallery level (Plate 67). Its position in the hall is such that it would not, as the hall now survives, be noticed without getting down on one's hands and knees. However, if the hall had originally been open at this point, it could be seen from below. With the wall scar on the same wall marking the limits of the western apartments (Plate 53), it is possible to suggest that the hall was originally divided vertically, rather than horizontally as now.

The second survival does not seem to have been recorded in any previous description of the Norman Gallery features. At the west end of the Gallery are two triplets - the north side of the northern triplet is that supported by the inserted capital (Plate 51). In the spandrel between the southern central arch and the southern half-arch and also in the spandrel between the northern and southern central arches are sculpted details. The northern of the two has the form of a plant while the southern is similar but has more of a stem and is more spear-like in appearance (Plates 69 & 70). As one normally looks at the arcade, the light from the two windows blots out the detail of the spandrels, while at night, this end of the Gallery is so badly lit, it is quite possible that these features have simply not been seen before. The two sculptures are not symmetrical and no other surviving spandrel is decorated. These decorative details suggest high-ranking apartments at the west end at this level.

Another circular newel stair survives, on the south east corner of the Hall. It is larger in diameter than the corresponding stair on the south west but is not complete, the central section having been altered (Plate 133).

Part of only one Romanesque window is visible from the interior on the north side; most of its arch is blocked but it would seem to be similar to those on the south (Plate 139). Externally, two windows of Romanesque style are visible towards the west end of the building but these are almost certainly restorations (Elevation 13).

Little seems to have been recorded of the original features at the top of the building. Jones recorded a well shaft within the wall of what is now a window-seat in room 17 (Greenwell and Hodges Letters No. 23). He says:

> We came across a further small find the other day. In the recess of the present north-east window of the Norman Gallery, in the thickness of the wall, a circular well shaft was unearthed about 2'6" - 2'9" in diameter, undoubtedly of Norman date. The tool markings perfect a few courses down but it has been cut through and away below when the present window to the Ante-room was inserted.

> Just below the floor of the Gallery it is covered halfway across with a large stone with, I think, a chevron moulded face but I have only felt it, not examined it.

There is no sign on the external face of the wall or at its base of any exterior access to this well .

Gee also reported a garderobe within the thickness of the wall at the back of room 18 (1928, 80). This confuses the picture and Plan M should be referred to. The sets numbered 19, 20, and 21 have been divided into single rooms and renumbered 19 - 24. Room 17 still bears the same number, as does Room 18, although 18 has become one large room. The plan shows a small square chamber within the north wall of 18. On the north side, below this point, a blocked low door with a four-centred arch is still visible (Elevation 13). At the base of the wall at this point an access door can be seen and the whole shaft appears to have been constructed within a buttress. This may equate with Jones' well although the small circle shown dotted in can hardly measure a foot on the original scale. Neither could this be called "the recess of the north-east window" of the Gallery - the north-east window is that at the back of Room 17. It is not entirely clear therefore whether the two remarks are describing the same or different features.

The conventional date for the building of the North Hall is linked to the fire, which took place in the twelfth century, and in the wake of which rebuilding is supposed to have occurred (Reginald 1835, 82-3).

THE TUNSTALL GALLERY

In the early sixteenth century Bishop Cuthbert Tunstall (1530 - 1559) built a long gallery on the north side of the Inner Bailey, built onto the south front of the North Hall (De Chambre 1839, 155). It has preserved the south wall of that building for inspection. It would seem, from the fine large window which Tunstall built to illuminate it, that the great Norman doorway was still visible at this time. It is known to have been blocked some time after this date - it was Bishop Barrington (1791 - 1826) who opened the

doorway out again and carried out a crude restoration by coating the stonework with plaster and white paint. (Lambert 1796, 18-19). This material has recently been removed and the doorway conserved, allowing for the first time a proper examination of its construction and ornamentation.

Just to the west of this doorway a blocked opening is evident in the wall (Plate 60). The window frame has been constructed (or reconstructed) from reused fragments. These include a length of Norman work, probably part of a string course, and decorated with crude chevron. It matches, in form and style, the short length of string course which survives *in situ*, on the south wall of the Hall immediately east of the Senior Common Room (Plate 68).

On the south wall of the Hall a distinct anomaly in the masonry can be seen from the Gallery side. While the coursing does not appear to change, there has clearly been some alteration to the fabric here, exactly where the alignment of the building appears to change on the plan (Plate 54). Above this point on the Norman Gallery level, the window triplet has collapsed and this would seem to indicate some structural weakness at the point where the rebuilt west end is attached to the old building (Plate 72).

THE CHAPEL RANGE (Plate 39)

The Chapel Range is composed of a number of elements spanning almost the entire history of the castle (Plan A and Elevation 18). The North wall is part of the original curtain wall and the Chapel has been added to it (Elevation 22). On the ground level is the Norman Chapel, an axially arranged Chapel with three aisles and three bays divided by stone pillars (Plates 73, 74, 75, 77, and 78). The roof is groin vaulted and plastered and springs from large volute capitals decorated with animals and masks (Plates 147 - 170). The window openings in the north wall are Romanesque in style, although it is known that Salvin both widened the original narrow loops and renewed the arches (Fordyce 1857, 289). The openings in the east wall are also Romanesque in style with plain jambs and voussoirs of simple rectangular form (Plate 75). The southernmost of the three was restored when the Chapel itself was restored in 1951 - previously there was

the three was restored when the Chapel itself was restored in 1951 - previously there was an inserted stair through this wall (Plate 112). The floor is composed of individual rhomboidal stones, set to form a "herring-bone" type of pattern (Plate 77). A fuller description of the features in the Chapel is summarised in Appendix N.

To the south and immediately adjacent to this is the present television room which is sited in a construction of uncertain date. For future citation I shall refer to this construction as the Chapel Lodgings. The room is panelled and the openings which survive are modern restorations or insertions but it would appear from its alignment and archaeology to be contemporary with the eleventh century arrangements. Only part of this early construction survives - the rest was demolished when the North Hall was rebuilt as a single unit (Leyland 1987, 25 - 26). Two plain rectangular openings are still visible on its east wall (Elevation 7).

Above the television room and the modern entrance to the Keep, is the Chapel constructed by Bishop Tunstall (1530 - 1559) and lengthened by Bishops Cosin (1660 - 1672) and Crewe (1674 - 1721) (Gee 1928, 84).

AREA TO WEST OF NORMAN CHAPEL

In 1986 the area to the west of the Norman Chapel was investigated as part of an undergraduate dissertation. Part of the area is at present used as a boiler room and a great deal of rubbish and building waste had accumulated over the years. It was decided to remove this waste and when asbestos was found the whole area was investigated and an opportunity taken to test part of the surviving below floor deposits.

Briefly, the investigation recorded the demolished west end of the Chapel Lodgings, to the immediate south of the Norman Chapel; the east end of the Lodgings survives as a common room.

The west end had been demolished to a horizontal level and the twelfth century hall built over it. This area is now occupied by the lobby to the Senate room (Plan A). A fine splayed entrance, a stone pavement, and a raised east end, suggested that the Chapel of the castle had once been situated in the space now occupied by the Senate room.

later than the early twelfth century at the latest giving a *terminus ante quem* for the demolition of Bishop Flambard's time (1099 - 1128) (S. Mills pers. comm.). A loose block with a chamfered edge was found sealed by the deposits. This block is identical to the blocks used in the string course of the Norman Chapel, and is probably of the same eleventh century date (Plate 137). A fuller description of the archaeology is contained in Appendix N.

Other fragments of the early buildings have been found in this area. A length of corbel table survives in a boiler room adjacent to the area investigated to the west of the Chapel (Plate 79 and Plan P). A large capital with scrolled volutes, similar to those which survive in the Norman Chapel was found in the rubble infill of the large circular stair on the south side of the North Hall in the 1930s (Plate 80). Unfortunately when the restoration work was carried out in the 1950s archaeologists were denied access and the stone was broken up as building rubble. Only a fragment was saved and this still resides in the Chapel, in the alcove formed by the blocked sally-port on the north wall (Plate 78). Another early capital was found in a builder's yard in the 1950's. It is believed to have come from the castle. This is altogether a finer affair and seems likely to have formed part of the early high ranking accomodation(Plates 81 and 82). It has been dated as c.1075 and it thus may be a survival from the original West Hall or the East Range (Hayward 1984, 152). It emphasises as does the other early material, the richness of the ornament in the early buildings.

EXCAVATIONS BELOW THE TUNSTALL CHAPEL

In 1951 it was decided to restore the Norman Chapel, then being used as a passage to the Keep. It was necessary to construct a new way to the Keep which entailed removing part of the motte. A part section was revealed through the motte which showed that it was of two phases (Simpson & Hatley 1953; Elevation 8). It has been assumed that Bishop Hatfield widened or expanded the motte in order to found the larger stone Keep (De Chambre 1839, 138). The earlier phase seen in section was assumed to be of the original motte and this appeared to be founded on sand. The section obtained was

original motte and this appeared to be founded on sand. The section obtained was neither through the full width of the mound, nor to the full height. This makes it difficult to determine the original extent of the motte and therefore the volume. No pottery was recovered from the early motte layers at all so the foundation date of the motte remains unknown.

THE JUNCTION BLOCK (Plate 39)

This is the set of buildings that join the Keep to the main body of the castle. As they now survive their details appear to be mainly of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries but they are in fact a Victorian creation by Anthony Salvin (Fordyce 1857, 244).

THE KEEP (Plate 83)

The surviving building is a large octagonal tower with windows that are clearly restored but in appearance resemble medieval openings.

Hatfield is said to have expanded the mound in the second half of the fourteenth century and to have built an octagonal tower on it. (De Chambre 1839, 138). This tower is assumed to have replaced the structure, described by Laurence of Durham in 1144 (ed. Raine 1880), and believed to be still standing at this period. The present tower is divided into student rooms and is supposed to have been entirely rebuilt in 1846 by Anthony Salvin (Gee 1928, 66). The buttresses, however, bond into the fabric at the base of the tower but not further up. The larger buttress on the east side does not bond at all but overlays the masonry at the base of the tower - it is clearly a later addition. These features are unlikely to have been consciously built in by Salvin. More may survive of Hatfield's construction that is generally accepted.

THE COURTYARD

From time to time various buildings have come to light during works in the Courtyard, although no systematic attempt has been made to investigate them.

The well that Gee and Jones found in the Courtyard in 1904, "21 feet south of Tunstall's gallery and 25 feet east of Cosin's Staircase", is clearly marked on the plan (Plans A & S) and is referred to almost all in the articles they wrote (e.g. Gee 1904, 18 and Greenwell and Hodges Letters, A13). They were convinced that this was the well spoken of by Laurence of Durham in his poem (ed. Raine 1880, 12). They cleared and dug the well out but how fully is not known - the work was abandoned at a depth of about seventeen and a half metres due to flooding. Reuben Green who appears to carried out the work recorded that "The top of the well is six feet below the level of the ground" (Greenwell and Hodges Letters A13). There is mention of a Tournois penny of 1633 and "a pitcher of rough earthenware" as "found within the rubbish" but what levels these were found at, is not recorded (Gee 1904, 18).

Some stone paving found just south of the Tunstall Gallery and marked on Plan A (just to the south-east of the well) was linked with the foot of a stair which was assumed to have risen from the Courtyard to the Great Norman doorway on the south side of the North Hall at first floor level. The foundations on the south side of the Courtyard, between the Gatehouse and the Garden Stairs building, mentioned on page 11 above, are not recorded on the plan.

Immediately adjacent and to the south of the Tunstall Chapel an early garderobe survives beneath the courtyard (Plan A: the garderobe is marked with the letter G). It has a simple barrel vaulted roof of plain rectangular voussoirs and is three-quarters full of fill for three-quarters of its length but the north end has been dug out at an unknown date. A sixteenth century sherd recovered from near the base of the surviving fill suggests a *terminus post quem* for the final disuse of this structure. Although this structure can be entered, it is quite hazardous to do so and photography is extremely difficult. It has not been possible therefore to gain a picture of the interior. Its position would suggest that there was previously a structure over it built out from the present television room, but all trace of this structure has disappeared. Since the south wall of that room was refaced by Bishop Tunstall (1530 -1559) as part of his Chapel

construction, no scars are visible there either. The construction of that chapel is a possible historical context for the disuse of the garderobe.

The Heating Trench

In the spring of 1991 it became necessary to test the castle's heating system which had lost power; the fault was traced to a break in the pipes which run in underground ducts beneath the courtyard. Advantage was taken of this unexpected opportunity to examine the courtyard archaeology immediately adjacent to the main gate (Plates 84, 85, and 86).

The details of that excavation are summarised in Appendix L- here I merely intend to present a brief discussion of the work. The earliest levels were not accessible due to the limits of the trench; the lowest point reached produced only pottery of the thirteenth century.

One question answered by the trench was the problem of the arch on the present gate (Plate 6). The arch, from its decorative chevron ornament, is clearly twelfth century yet scholars have always been bothered by the knowledge that the courtyard must have risen considerably since that time. Even though it is known that Bishop Tunstall (1530 - 1559) renovated the gate (the present wooden doors are his work - Leland 1964, 72-4) there still seemed to be a problem of the difference in level between the modern surface and that of the sixteenth century.

In the section of the trench it could be seen that there was an archaeological discontinuity at about this period. Between the fourteenth century layers and the eighteenth century surface there is a break without pottery or finds, marked by a layer of clean sand and rubble fragments. This suggests that there was a major re-levelling exercise in the courtyard area at some point in the past. This may have particularly concentrated on the area next to the gate where the intensity of surface activity may have led to much previous patching and a consequent rise in level at this point. The difference in levels between the surface of clean sand and the present surface at the gate is perhaps two feet at the most. Given the distance between the trench and the gate there would be plenty of room for a reasonably gentle fall or ramp from the gate into the courtyard.

At the base of the excavation on the east side a short length of trench, plaster and mortar filled, and with vertical sides, was dug out. Within this robbed out trench, at the south-east corner of the excavation, a fragmentary piece of surviving wall was uncovered (Plan Q). If the foundations shown on the Jones plan (Plan A - marked as 'Jones A') were the east and north wall of a building, then the small excavated wall fragment with its attendant robbed out foundation trench might represent the west side of the same building. Immediately adjacent to the west of the wall fragment, and attached to it, was a rubble foundation whose full extent could not be determined (Plates 85 and 86).

The Jones plan of 1904 shows a stretch of wall aligned east - west with an apparent return to the south. This is marked on the plan as Jones A and is situated just south of the Tunstall Chapel (see Plan A). Even in this partial form, this foundation seems on the same alignment with the Great Hall in the West Range. A splayed opening is shown in the wall on the east side of the courtyard and Jones linked the form of this opening with the early Norman windows that survive on the east wall of the Undercroft. This would suggest that this was a building from the earliest days of the castle.

Structures of an indeterminate plan are also shown on the Jones plan east of the remnant in the Courtyard (see Plan A). These appear to be partly covered by the Keep Mound, again suggesting an early date for them (pre-dating the fourteenth century expansion of the mound). These may be the "Other buildings...unearthed which are probably Norman," spoken of by Gee (1904, 18).

These features have important implications for the original approach to the castle. The building represented by the robbed wall in the heating trench, and Jones' planned wall, marked as 'Jones A', would, if squared logically at its south end, conflict with the access of the present Gatehouse. The evidence of the trench underlines this problem since projecting the line of the wall south of the trench, it can be seen that it cuts right across the line of the gate itself. This would cause enough problems if the wall was by itself. The attached rubble and masonry, however, make it difficult to see how the gate was used at all. Without knowing how far to the east the rubble extends it is difficult to

century (Appendix L). It was then demolished and the stone robbed out. The robbed out portion was filled with plaster, presumably from the building itself. About twenty or so pieces were recovered that had whitewash or paint on them and of these at least half a dozen bore additional coloured designs. Two pieces may have been painted at least twice. A stone was also recovered, of rhomboidal shape, which bore a striking resemblance to those that can still be seen in the Norman Chapel as part of the decorative construction of the floor (Plate 77). It would seem then that the Chapel floor was not unique but that at least one other floor in the early castle was of the same design. This suggests that this was a high ranking structure belonging to the early accommodation. It would be interesting to know whether there was any original physical link with the garderobe in the north-east corner of the courtyard. It would appear from the Chapel Lodgings and the fragment of wall discovered at the north-west corner (above page 22) that in the eleventh century there were other stone buildings along the north side apart from the Chapel, the west side was occupied by the Undercroft and its superstructure and it would seem the east side of the bailey also bore a well made building of some pretension.

One of the recent trenches connected with the Barbican work also yielded fragments of painted plaster of the type described from the east range. One was a very fine piece showing a plant executed in two colours. It emphasises the luxury and comfort that the castle enjoyed from its earliest time.

In his article on the city walls, Jones gives a number of asides about archaeological discoveries in the vicinity of the castle (Jones 1922, 241 - 246). He estimates the original ground level as about two metres below the present level within the courtyard in the area of the well. The courtyard figure is probably based on the height of the top of the well that Jones found. In the heating trench, thirteenth century deposits were about two and a half metres or more down but there is a considerable fall-off between the site of the trench and the site of the well (See Elevation 1).

He discovered three timber posts, seven centimetres in diameter in sandy soil "below the west side of the thirteenth century latrine tower at the base of the Keep

were about two and a half metres or more down but there is a considerable fall-off between the site of the trench and the site of the well (See Elevation 1).

He discovered three timber posts, seven centimetres in diameter in sandy soil "below the west side of the thirteenth century latrine tower at the base of the Keep mound" (Jones 1922, 241 - 246). This is presumably the angle tower at the west side of the Keep mound. There is a garderobe exit at the base of the tower on the north-west side (see Elevation 18).

All these references would suggest that Jones carried out extensive excavation on the area of the North Terrace. Unfortunately no detailed records of this work seem to have been made or to have survived.

Recent North Terrace Trenches

Martin Carver excavated a trench near the base of the north slope in 1979 (Plan A: the excavation site is marked Carver 1979). At its deepest extent (about 3 metres) he was still recovering post-medieval material (Lowther et al. 1993, 42, para. 59 (1)). Jones estimated the ground level on the north side as four to five metres below the present level but this figure is probably based on the difference between the North Terrace and the Courtyard level (See Elevation 13).

Two trenches were dug across the North Terrace in mid-1992 in the course of repairs to the sewers on the North side (Plan L and Elevation 19). The first reached an orange/grey sand/clay deposit at about two metres down and this was identified by Dr Tony Johnson of the Department of Geology as the natural drift deposit. The differences in level between the top of this deposit and the Courtyard level suggest that the North Range has been built into a cut section face in the natural slope. It may be that the Norman engineers realising the poor nature of the sub-surface foundation material did this in order to compensate for the lack of solidity and to seat the building more firmly.

The second trench had a good section through the archaeological deposits surviving on its north side (Elevation 19). This showed a number of terrace levels composed of different material going down to the base of the cut which did not reach

natural. At least two layers in the section were organic and humic suggesting buried turf surfaces. The earliest pottery recovered from the earliest surfaces was twelfth century suggesting that there may have been a terrace on the North side from very early times and that Bishop Cosin, supposedly responsible for its creation, may only have been renewing an original/existing feature.

THE BASTION TOWER (Plates 87 & 88)

Below the Keep, on its north-east side is a surviving lower half of a cylindrical tower. the outer wall is of well dressed and laid stone, while the interior displays three openings (Plate 88 and Plan A). The first, still in use is clearly later medieval. The second and the third, which only survives as a fragment, are very worn and the form of their arches is difficult to ascertain. The tower is placed on the northern defence between the Keep and the North gate and is clearly part of the defences on the neck of the peninsula.

The actual date of the tower's construction is unknown but the form of the openings suggests that it was constructed after the period covered by this study.

THE OUTER CASTLE (Plan R)

The surviving enclosure of castle buildings at Durham forms what was the Inner Bailey of the castle in the Middle Ages. The Outer Bailey or Outer Castle as it was known, was situated around the rest of the peninsula. Effectively the old enclosed area of the peninsula became the outer Bailey of the new castle. This included the cathedral and early town area. Reference to Plan R which shows the medieval defences may be helpful although this plan shows the full scheme and includes post-fourteenth century works.

In the twelfth century, Bishop Flambard enclosed the peninsula with a stone wall. He also cleared the ground of houses between the castle and the cathedral creating the later Palace Green area. Symeon's history says that this was so that the new Cathedral would not be endangered by fire or polluted by filth (Symeon 1882 140). It may also have been to emphasise the differences between the ecclesiastical, military and secular areas. A further wall built by Flambard ran between the Keep and the east end of the

cathedral (Symeon 1885 260). This further segregated the peninsula areas and the accesses were controlled by gates. The castle as it survives was defended by the moat and the Barbican. The Palace Green area was protected by the gate on the north-east, called the Queen (later Owen) Gate. There was also a postern called the Lye Gate on the south-east. The outer part of the peninsula was mainly accessed and protected by the great North Gate below and to the east of the castle Motte. There were two further gates - the King's Gate on the east, below the cathedral, and the Water Gate on the south. There seems to have been a further gate just below the east end of the cathedral at the west end of Bow church dividing off the north and south parts of the outer Bailey. All these gates have been destroyed - something of the North Gate survives in the cellars in Saddler Street.

From the evidence of these many gates and a survival in the visual record (see Bok below, chapter 4 and Plate 92) it appears the whole peninsula area was a heavily fortified enclosure in the medieval period. Certainly the later buildings around the Palace Green area were connected specifically with the Bishops' secular powers such as his Courts and Exchequer and the earlier predecessors may also have been located in this region. The evidence of tenancies suggest that the original plots were held by right of castle-guard - that is that the holders were obliged to do 39 days military service in the castle as part of their rent. Little detailed study has been done on this outer area of the peninsula within which settlement patterns and area division remains largely unknown. A detailed analysis of the peninsula would require a separate study to itself. Enough has been said to demonstrate that the castle as it survives did not stand alone as a defence but rather as an inner core of a defensive complex. This may explain why, after the days of Flambard, the bishops concentrated more on increasing the comfort of the castle rather than on its military side, although defence was not altogether forgotten as Bishop Hatfield's Keep and angle towers demonstrate. After the twelfth century the thrust of the defences was placed out on the peninsula walls and gates; the inner core was relatively secure.

CHAPTER 2

THE EARLY HISTORIES

Having introduced the buildings and explored the scope of the available archaeological evidence, the documentary records must be next be considered. The study will be of the received historical tradition, together with the comments and observations of earlier historians and writers. Firstly, it must be noted that the history of the Castle before the seventeenth century is only briefly illuminated by passing remarks and some major features have no reference at all.

There are a number of accounts in the early modern period which discuss the survival of the Palatinate records (e.g. Gough 1780; Gutch 1781; Hardy 1854; Cosin 1872). While these make clear the great local interest in collecting manuscripts relating to the past, there is also mention of loss, decay, and deliberate destruction of the record. Some historical phases are therefore better documented than others and the quality of material is also very variable. The loss or destruction of records where known, will be discussed in more detail under the relevant sections.

The history of the Castle that our modern age has received is a rather uncritical set of historical assumptions. These are frequently based on past hearsay and the generalisations of past writers and historians, some of who guessed blindly, while others preferred to expand or fill out the otherwise scanty record with their own prejudices and ideas. Where the two records, historical and archaeological, meet there are only a few genuine and general points of contact. Even with the standing buildings such as the North Range, there are still major components whose history and origins are in doubt. These include the exact arrangement of the rooms at the east and west ends of the hall and its original appearance in the twelfth century, and most strikingly, the exact date at which the present state rooms were formed and the divisions which make them up. When these latter features are first mentioned in the historical record, they are fully formed and taken for granted with no ascription of origin or builder. While earlier descriptions of the Castle exist, the west side of the Inner Bailey in particular generally

lacks historical notice. The grander State rooms, the chapels, and the twelfth century artwork were all in the North Range. Apart from the Great Hall the buildings in the West Range were largely domestic and this may be the reason for their infrequent appearance in the earlier descriptions. This however, poses distinct problems when disentangling the functions and layout of the rooms in some areas of the building.

THE HISTORICAL TRADITION

This study will begin by describing the evolution of the historical tradition of the Castle and discussing the primary and early sources. It is recognised that there are a number of texts dating from the eleventh and twelfth centuries, which form the earliest source material. Table One deals with the writers or sources concerned with the Castle, from its foundation until the fourteenth century. These take the form of chronicles, generally written by monastic authors, and are usually concerned either with the deeds of a specific Bishop, or with showing how the monastic church at Durham existed against a wider historical backdrop.

The purpose of such chronicles is to show how good Kings flourished under St. Cuthbert's patronage and that good Bishops furthered that process and Durham's glory. Kings or Bishops who treated St. Cuthbert's Patrimony with contumely are generally used didactically by demonstrating the misfortunes that befell them. As Gransden demonstrates, the thought in the forefront of the chroniclers' minds was that of how to demonstrate continuity and normality in the See (Gransden 1974, 113 and see discussion on Symeon, below). Offler suggests that after Symeon there was, in any case, a voluntary turning inward in the chronicles whereby they became more concerned with the monastery, the See, and local matters (Offler 1958, 21 - 14). In these works, "the career of the individual Bishop came to hold the centre of the story..."

Where chronicles mention Durham at all, it is usually in this context, so naturally the Cathedral and the deeds of the monks and their Bishops predominate. The Castle is only mentioned as peripheral to this subject and in so far as it was involved in the

ecclesiastical and political events. Works or alterations in the Castle are mentioned insofar as they illustrate the character and zeal of a particular Bishop.

A good example is the fire in the Castle as cited by the writer Reginald of Durham (Reginald 1835, 82-3). The description of the events occurs in a book of St. Cuthbert's miracles. It was intended to demonstrate the greatness and power of the Saint by accounting his wonderful acts. The focus of the story is not the buildings of the Castle but the miraculous preserving power of St. Cuthbert's Banner. None the less, certain details can be gleaned from it.

Even the description of the Castle in the celebrated poem by Laurence the Prior (ed. Raine 1880, 11 - 13) is really a poetic device to demonstrate the strength and greatness of St. Cuthbert's city, rather than stemming from any architectural interest in describing the Castle. This poem provides the main descriptive text for this period but there are reservations. While more information is available on the early buildings in this text, it must always be remembered that Laurence is seeing the Castle from a monastic point of view and as a poet, whose main focus of attention is actually the events that surround the usurpation of Robert Cumin.

The works of Symeon especially have formed the basis on which many later histories have been written. Any examination of these later sources must, therefore, always be made with reference to this earlier material.

Symeon's histories and the Poem by Laurence of Durham must be particularly carefully scrutinised and examined. They are amongst the earliest source material and for this reason historians have from the beginning used selections from these texts to propose fundamental ideas about the disposition and detail of the early Castle at Durham. In these texts and the interpretation of them, then, some of the later historical errors may have an origin.

In the discussion which follows, whilst the views of earlier writers is taken into account the larger part is based on the recent studies by Gransden (1974) and Meehan (1979).

Symeon of Durham

It is difficult to be precise about Symeon's dates. Hinde notes that Symeon recalls a choral service in the time of Bishop Walcher (1071 - 1080) and therefore suggests his birth as around 1060 A.D (Hinde 1868, v). Meehan, however, notes that Symeon speaks in the first person plural and suggests that this is not a personal recollection but rather, one expressed on behalf of the community, stressing the links with the past (1979, 18). Reginald of Durham says that Symeon was present at the disinterment of St. Cuthbert's remains in 1104 (Reginald 1835, 84). His last work was apparently on the archbishops of York from 1130 - 1133 and Hinde suggests that Symeon died shortly after this. However he points out that Symeon would by then have been in his seventies or eighties and it must be considered whether these later works were really his or merely ascribed to him. Whether Symeon had any official position at Durham is hard to determine. The account of the vision of Orm was addressed to Symeon as though he were "local news editor" - he was at least expected to approve the account which suggests he had some status (Gransden 1974, 114ff) and Meehan agrees that Symeon was a literary figure and a man of standing (1979, 16).

Stephenson proposed that the two documents attributed to Symeon's authorship, i.e. The *Historia Regum* (HR) and The *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae*, (HDE) are the work of more than one writer (1858, 6). Meehan does not see Symeon's authorship of these documents as certain because the credit is only given in the late twelfth century rubrics of manuscripts previously belonging to the Cistercian house at Sawley, Yorkshire (1979, 3). These rubrics should be regarded as additions to the manuscript which were not originally intended. The two Sawley manuscripts survive at Cambridge University Library (CUL.Ff.1.27) and Corpus Christi College Cambridge (CCCC 139).

Meehan points out that, in fact, the two earliest surviving copies of the HDE - Cosin V.ii.6 and BL Cotton Faustina A.v are anonymous (1979, 14). It is CUL.Ff.1.27 that first ascribes the work to Symeon and CCCC 139 has the same ascription in very similar words. Meehan considers that both CUL.Ff.1.27 and CCCC 139 are Durham products and points out that no other Durham manuscripts known (Cosin V.ii.6, BL

Cotton Faustina A.v, and DCL A.IV.36) mention an author. CUL.Ff.1.27 and CCCC 139 are generally accepted as being the Sawley manuscripts, both written in the same hand, but Meehan does not support this (1979, 15). He suggests that there are more grounds for supposing that Symeon wrote the HDE than the HR and notes internal inconsistencies between the two works suggesting that they are, in fact, by different authors. In more traditional editions (e.g. Arnold 1882) Symeon is accredited with the work up to the entry for the year 1096. The Chronicle thereafter is attributed to Symeon's Continuator, that is, one who continued the work after Symeon's death.

Historia Regum

The text of the Historia Regum occurs in CCCC 139 on folios 54r to 131r and Meehan notes that the hands are roughly the style of the second half of the twelfth century (1979, 104). He suggests that Hinde's given date of 1180 for this manuscript is perhaps the closest (Meehan 1979, 109). This has implication for the dating of the wall between the Castle and Cathedral on the east side of Palace Green. (See discussion below, page 49).

Gransden believes that internal differences between the HR and the HDE show that they are not by the same man or that the HR was heavily revised at Hexham (1974 149, n.85). The HR is generally an annalistic history with a factual approach and on analysis seems to be made of the following parts:

1.Kentish legends.
2. An account of the Northumbrian Kings from the mid-sixth century - 737 AD.
3. Bede's Ecclesiastical History.
4.A Lost annal dating from 732 - 802.
5. Some of Asser's life of Alfred.
6. Annals from 888 - 957 but compiled after 1042.
7. Extracts from the Gesta Regum by William of Malmesbury.
8. Annals from 848 - 1118, mainly Florence of Worcester.

9. Annals from 1119 - 1129.

Sometime later, insertions were made at Hexham and between 1161 and 1175 the copy made for Sawley with further modifications (Gransden 1974, 1490) Gransden believes that the last section, covering the years 1119 - 1129, is original and was written close to the events it records. This section could be Symeon's work and falls within our period of study. While not particularly focusing on Durham, the city, and more importantly, the Castle, is mentioned in one section and some information is given about building works (Symeon 1885, 260). The section reads:

> Ranulfus Dunelmensis episcopus murum incepit a boreali parte cancelli ecclesiae et perduxit ad arcem usque castelli.

The translation may be given as:

> Ranulf the Bishop of Durham began a wall on the north side of the chancel of the church and leading from there to the citadel of the castle.

This describes the construction of the wall that ran along the east side of Palace Green. Some scholars have attempted to suggest that this wall was Du Puiset's work but this manuscript clearly ascribes the work to Bishop Flambard. If Hinde and Meehan's date of 1180 is correct for this manuscript (see above) that would place it well within the episcopacy of Du Puiset and if he was the builder of the wall, then clearly the scribe would have known this and recorded his name rather than that of Flambard.

Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae

Differences in the texts had already been noted by Leland (1774 II, 347) who discriminated two separate bodies of material, the *Historia post Bedam* and a loose collection of material, associated with this.

Hinde also distinguished two parts to the work, the first covering 732 - 957 and based on Asser and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (Hinde 1868, xiv -xxv). The second is dated 848 - 1129, and based on Florence of Worcester as far as 1119 but the rest an original composition.

The *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae* was known in the middle ages as "*Libellus de exordio atque procursu istius, hoc est Dunelmensis Ecclesiae.*" This is the title used on the two earliest texts - DUL Cosin V.ii.6 fol. 11r and BL Cotton Faustina A.v. fol. 25r. Meehan suggests that the title HDE derives from a seventeenth century edition (1979, 166). The *Libellus* is strictly an anonymous work but in the preface it says that it was written at the instigation of superiors, that is presumably Turgot the Prior who is mentioned in the manuscript. This then was an official view. Meehan dates the manuscript as between 1104 and 1109 based on the mention of Prior Turgot (1979, 167).

Symeon's Continuator

The original hand of the Cosin manuscript (Cosin V.ii.6) covers the work down to the death of William St Calais in 1096. The work thereafter has been generally separated in various editions as the work of continuators - those who continued the work after Symeon.

The section attributed to the Continuator of the History of the Church of Durham, who covers the period from 1096 to 1144, deals in slightly more detail with the days of Bishop Flambard. This section, on folios 98v - 102r of the Cosin manuscript is in a hand identified as the third main hand and Meehan agrees with Mynors and Offler that it was probably added not long after the death of Bishop Flambard in 1128.

It is in this section of the work that a certain paragraph occurs which has been both translated and interpreted almost in as many ways as there have been historians of Durham (Symeon 1882, 140). It is the paragraph that deals with Flambard's clearing of Palace Green and his works of fortification.

It reads:-

> Urbem licet hanc natura munierit muro ipse reddidit fortiorem et augustiorem. A cancello ecclesiae ad arcem usque castelli producta murum construxit longitudine. Locum inter ecclesiam et castellum, quem multa occupaverant habitacula, in patentis campi redegit planitiem, ne vel ex sordibus contaminatio vel ex ignibus ecclesiam attingerent pericula. Diversas Wiri fluminis ripas continuavit structo de lapide magni operis ponte arcuato.

My translation of this is:

> Although the city had been fortified by nature he rendered it yet stronger and greater by a wall. He constructed the wall raised lengthwise from the chancel of the church as far as the citadel of the castle. The place between the church and castle, which was occupied by many dwellings, he reduced to a flat level plain, that the church should not be assaulted by the danger of fire nor the contamination of filth. He joined together the opposing banks of the river Wear by the arch of a bridge, built of large stone.

It is the way that writers have drawn on this paragraph and interpreted it that has created many ideas about the Castle that are simply not supported by the visible evidence. This paragraph is supplemented by the shorter piece in the *Historia Regum* which was noted above.

This second passage seems to have been ignored by some such as Jevons and Hodges (Greenwell and Hodges Letter 18). This theme will be discussed at greater length at the end of the chapter where I will summarise the relationship of the historical writings to the standing evidence.

The same work (HDE) also gives a brief notice of the work of Bishop Du Puiset (1153 - 1195) in the city (Stephenson 1858, 756). This is identified by Meehan as being the fourth main hand of the manuscript and clearly, must be the work of an even later Continuator.

Symeon's works and the Castle

The purpose of the early chronicles was to show how the See enjoyed continuity and normality (Gransden 1974, 113). The author of the *Libellus* claims, for example, that St Calais did not institute a new monastic order but rather restored an older one (Gransden 1974 116, n.73). The history of the See was a demonstration that St Cuthbert had always protected the community which had continued despite political disruption (Gransden 1974, 117). Again, in talking about King William, the chronicle tell us that he confirmed the laws and customs of the Saint. This what was considered important; William's slaughter and destruction in the north is not mentioned.

It is therefore possible that the fairly casual mention of the castle in the history was deliberate since its imposition, followed by the foisting on the community of a secular leader who was also the Bishop, was quite definitely a political and spiritual break with the past. In Symeon's works, Bishops mattered because of their learning and piety - a clear desire to link with the past, with Bede as an exemplar and the Castle was simply not focal to his theme.

Matilda's Charter

A letter was sent from Queen Matilda to the monks at Waltham Abbey in Essex (ed. Ransford 1989, 5). The entry reads:

5. Notification by Queen Matilda that she has pardoned the canons the money which they used to give each year to William St Calais Bishop of Durham towards the building of Durham Castle. Dated between 11 November 1100 to about April 1101.

> "Mathildis regina de quieta clamatione episcopi Dunelmensis Mathildis regina etc. salutem. Sciatis me peretualiter perdonasse canonicis de waltham pro anima regis et mea et quietos eos omnino clamasse denarios illos quos episcopus Willelmus Dunelmensis solebat ab eis accipere quoquo anno ad opus castelli Dunelmensis. T' Willelmo Gyffard' cancellario etc."

Mss. Tib. C.IX.fo.50v

ADD MS 37665 fo 14v

Note. William I had granted Waltham to the Bishop of Durham as a residence near London.

A rough translation would be:

> "Queen Mathilda quit claim of the Bishop of Durham. Queen Mathilda etc. greetings. Know that for my soul and that of the King, I pardon forever the canons of Waltham and quit claim them entirely that money which Bishop William of Durham was accustomed to take from them every year towards the work of the Castle of Durham. William Gyffard, Chancellor, etc."

William St Calais is specifically mentioned in the charter from which it may be concluded that the date of the original grant was before 1096, the year of the Bishop's death. The purpose of the granted revenues is said to have been specifically to assist the Bishop with the construction of the Castle at Durham. This extra cash supplies an answer to the

bishop's ability to build in stone from the first and also to create buildings of strength and high rank in the early enclosure. The purpose of Matilda's letter was to release the monks from this payment. This has been taken as showing that the Castle was therefore considered complete at this time, at least defensively speaking. Flambard went on to aggrandise and strengthen the Castle yet further but as he was anathema to the royal power (being exiled indeed at the start of his episcopate), the withdrawing of the revenue from Waltham may have been an act of spite or reprimand against an unpopular courtier.

William of Jumièges

There is a brief mention of Durham by the Norman historian which is not conclusive but none the less very interesting (1602, VII, 40). He tells us that after the insurgency at York in 1068, the remnants of the insurgents fled to Durham and "there built a strong castle which in the proper tongue is called Durham."

The nature and location of this "castle" is nowhere specified but it does tell us something. The fact that the insurgents fled to Durham shows us that it had some standing as a political centre and may also indicate that it was felt to be a place of military strength. The city had, after all, repulsed an attack by the Scots in 1040 which certainly suggests that there was some form of defensive work about it (Symeon 1882, 90). The likely position for this would be around the peninsula at the top of the cliff and it must also be considered that the earthwork would have been particularly strong at the neck, always the weakest point. The building of a defence within this earthwork may have been simply a mimic by the insurgents of what they had seen their Norman conquerors do - a kind of sham castle.

Laurence of Durham

The description of the city and the Castle in the twelfth century occurs as part of a poem believed to have been written in 1144 by Laurence, a monk and later Prior of the Convent of Durham, (Kinderman 1969 31)

The poem, entitled *"Dialogi Dunelmensis Monachi ac Prioris"*, is in the form of a dialogue between Laurence and two friends called Peter and Philip. Laurence seems to have been one of the monks who were expelled by the Usurper of the see, William Cumin, when he seized the monastery in 1141. He was later recalled to Durham by Cumin himself just before the usurper surrendered to Bishop William St. Barbe (1143 - 1152). The poem seems to date from the period just after he had returned to the city. It is a lament for the ruin of the bishopric and the city, a description of the recent events, and a look to a more hopeful future (ed. Raine 1880 xxxi - xxxii).

The description of the city and Castle occurs at the beginning of the poem as a part of setting the scene for the description of the historical events. He describes its lofty situation, its strength against siege, the gates of the city, and then goes on to describe the Castle. The description includes a timber tower on the mound, the early chapel, the two great "palaces", presumably the Halls, and the courtyard with its well (ed. Raine 1880, 11 - 13). The text is worth quoting in full. (Numbering is taken from the Raine edition).

Arx in eo regina sedens sullime minatur,
 Quodque videt totum judicat esse suum.
Murus et a porta tumulo surgente severus

 Surgit, et exsurgens arcis amæna petit.
Arx autem tenues condensa resurgit in auras,
 intus sive foris fortis et apta satis.
Intus enim cubitis tribus altius area surgit,
 Area de solida facta fidelis humo.

Desuper hanc solidata domus sublimior arce
 Eminet insigni tota decore nitens.
Postibus inniti bis cernitur ipsa duobus,
 Postem quippe potens angulus omnis habet.
Cingitur et pulchra paries sibi quilibet ala,
 omnis et in muro desino ala fero.

At pons emergens ad propugnacula promptos
Et scandi faciles præbet ab æde gradus.
Cumque venitur eo via lata cacumina muri
ambit, et arcis ita sæpe meatur apex.

Arx vero formam prætendit amæna rotundam
Arte, nitore, statu, fortis, amæna, placens.
Hinc in castellum pons despicit, atque recursus
Huc et eo faciles pons adhibere solet;
Largus enim gradibus spatiatur ubique minutis,
nec se præcipitatsed procul ima petit.

At prope murus eum descendit ab arce reflectens
In Zephyrum faciem flumem ad usque suam.
cujus ab aeria largo sinuamine ripa
Se referens arvum grande recurvus obit.

Obditus et siccis Aquilonis hiatibus arcem
Exsurgens repetit fortis ubique feram.
nec sterilis vacat æde locus quem cirinat alti
ambitus hic muri; tecta decora tenet.
consita porticibus duo magna palatia præfert

In quibus artifices ars satis ipas probat.
Fulget et senis suffulta capella columnis,
Non spatiosa nimis, sed speciosa satis.
Hic thalami thalamis sociantur, et ædibus ædes,
et datur officio quælibet apta suo.

Cumque sic hinc domus atque domus jungantur, et ædes
Aedibus, inde tamen pars ibi nulla vacat.
castelli medium vacat æde, sed exhibet altum
Ille locus puteum sufficientis aquae.

Porta potens et celsa petens, facilisque tueri
vel satis exigua femineave manu.
hujus in egressu pons sternitur, et spatiosæ
Transpositus fossæ tenditur inde procul.

Hac et ab arce potens descendens murus in Austrum
Tenditur, ecclesiæ ductus ad usque caput.

A translation was made by Gee for his chapter on Durham Castle in Rait's book on the Episcopal palaces of York (1911, 101 - 200). I much prefer, however, the earlier translation by Boyle for his county history (1892, 143-150). On the whole, his Latin is more literally translated while Gee tends to a more poetic sense. For example stanzas 399-400:

> Consita porticibus duo magna palatia præfert
> In quibus artifices ars satis ipsa probat

are translated by Boyle as:

> It displays two great adjoining palaces with porticoes
> In which art itself sufficiently attests the artificers.

but Gee has instead:

> Two mighty palaces with many a vault beneath,
> Attest the skill of their artificers.

Lewis and Short give the translation of *porticus* as "a gallery, piazza, colonnade, porch or portico" (1880, 1401). Baxter and Johnson concur in their list of Medieval Latin words and give the translation of *porticus* as "porch or chapel for a minor altar" (1955, 319). As can be seen above the word *sub* for "beneath" does not appear in the original poen at this point. Gee has also translated the word *arx* by using a modern term i.e. "keep" while Boyle sticks to the more traditional "citadel". Thus I will give the full translation using Boyle's text, although this is not entirely free from error, as will be demonstrated. I have omitted those lines which are simple poesy and do not refer to the castle at all.

Therein the citadel (arx) sitting as a queen,
is raised high in a threatening manner
and all that she sees judges to be her own.
The frowning wall also ascending with
the mound ascends from the gate

and ascending, makes for the pleasant
places of the citadel (arx).
But the compact citadel (arx) rises into thin air,
inside and outside strong and well arranged.
For inside, the area rises higher
with three terraces (cubitis tribus),
an area made durable of solid earth.

On this a solidly built house, higher than the citadel (arx)
stands out all radiant with eminent beauty.
It is itself seen to rest on twice two posts
since every strong corner has a post.
Each wall is girded with a beautiful wing
and every wing dies into a threatening wall.

But a bridge emerging affords ready and easy steps
of ascent from the house to the battlements.
And when they came thither a broad way
goes round the heights of the wall

and in this way the mound of the citadel is frequently gone round.
But the pleasant citadel displays a round form;
by art, beauty, and situation it is strong, pleasant and agreeable.
From hence a bridge that looks down into the castle
and the bridge is wont to afford access to and fro;
For it is wide and proceeds by little steps;
neither does it descend rapidly but
makes for the bottom at a distance.

But near it the wall descends from the citadel
bending its face towards the west even to the river.
From the high bank whereof with a great curve turning itself back,
thus curved, it surrounds the great plain.

And, where it is met by the dry winds of the north, strong everywhere,
rising, it returns again to the threatening citadel.
Nor is the place which the ambit of this high wall surrounds
void or barren of buildings; it contains beautiful structures.

It displays two great adjoining palaces with porticoes
in which art itself sufficiently attests the artificers. 400
Here also the chapel is conspicuous, supported on six columns,
not too spacious but sufficiently handsome.
Here chambers are joined to chambers, and buildings to buildings
and to each is assigned its own function. 404

And although on this side houses are thus 409
joined to houses and buildings to buildings
yet on the other no part is vacant.
The middle of the castle is not occupied with buildings
but that place exhibits a deep well of abundant water. 412
---
a strong gate and rising high and easy to defend, 435
or sufficiently defended by a weak womanly hand.
In its egress a bridge is stretched out and carried across
the broad ditch, is extended forward to some distance. 438

Hither also from the citadel a strong wall, descending to the south, 443
is extended forward and is carried even to the higher part of the church.

It is important to remember that this is a poetic description, and one being used to a specific purpose. Laurence wishes to show us the crimes that Cumin has committed. He therefore first describes the wreck of the city and then by using the Castle as a focal point attempts to show what a great thing it is that Cumin has ruined.

Few dispute that the opening lines of the description refer to the Keep and the Motte. It is the interpretation of those lines that has caused most argument. The two points of most contention have been the fabric and form of which the early Keep was constructed and the exact meaning of "cubitis tribus". As I have discussed above, Boyle translated this phrase as "with three terraces" and attempted to relate this to the fact that the Motte at present is cut into three terraces. These terraces, however, were made in the seventeenth century by Bishop Cosin or Crewe (see chapter 3, page 71).

Gee's version was:

Within, a base three cubits thick doth rise,
a base compact of solid earth beat hard.
(Rait 1911, 121)

I also find this translation unsatisfactory. Armitage gave a translation of this stanza in her work on the early Norman castle, which reads:

> A tumulus of rising earth with the citadel (arx) which rises into the air, strong within and without, well fitted for its work, for within the ground rises higher by three cubits than without.. (1912, 147-148)

This is a satisfactory reading of the text and one which I think is much closer to the sense of the Latin. Laurence is saying that the inside of the citadel is higher than the outside. Nuttall's Standard Dictionary (5th ed. 1932) gives the measurement of a cubit as about 18 to 22 inches. The interior of the shell was thus about five feet or 1.52 metres above the outside ground surface. "An area made durable of solid earth" suggests the interior was made up ground but is also possible that the height difference was caused by the tower being set into the top of the mound. It was a common Norman practice to seat towers on mounds in this way to give a greater stability to the foundations. In some cases the tower was built onto the existing ground surface and the mound heaped around it afterwards. Examples are known at Farnham, Abinger, and South Mimms (Pounds 1990, 13).

The house "higher than the citadel" suggest that this was a separate component. This can be seen as the description suggesting an outer wall with an interior wooden building. In the past stanzas 377 and 378 have been seen as suggesting a square wooden building with its mention of "posts" at every corner. On the other hand stanzas 379, 380, 385, and 386, have been used to suggest a round stone Keep with the curtain walls joined onto it. A round stone cylinder with an interior wooden square tower seems to me to integrate the arguments without damaging the sense of the text.

Laurence goes on to speak of two bridges leading from the Keep. Such "bridges" or steep stairs are well known in this context and examples of them are illustrated on the Bayeux Tapestry for the castles of Bayeux and Dinan. The latter

castle is shown on the tapestry as also having a wooden building within an outer palisade - at Dinan, also of wood.

Reginald of Durham

Reginald's *Libellus*, written in the twelfth century is entitled *"Libellus de admirandis Beati Cuthberti virtutibus."* As its title suggests it is an account of wonderful deeds performed either by the Saint, his relics, or at his shrine.

It is the chief source for the account of the disastrous fire which destroyed many of the buildings in the Castle in the mid-twelfth century (Reginald 1835, 82-3). While this fire is also referred to by Geoffrey of Coldingham (1839, 12) it is Reginald who gives us the fullest detail. His account reads:

> Unde, aliqua vice, flamma civitatis moenia devorante contigit ut fratres ad earum conatus infringendos citius advolarent et thecam cum sanctuariis ecclesiae pluribus illo seum deportarent. Nempe et si alii lanceis scutis ac securibus voraces impetus infrænebant isti tamen orationum munimine sacerdotalis manus profusa benedictione ac sanctorum pignerum obumbramine illorum insamias atius ac levius cohibebant. Jam igitur mina inferioris urbis ædificia flamma consumpserat et extinctores suos vis incendii grassabunda infra septa castelli confugisse capulerat. Quapropter muros conscendunt et inter lapidea propugnacula quædam eciam lignea interponere pro sua defensione concertarunt. Ventus enim vehemens ab aquilone in illos irruit et flamma super unius lancea longitudinem super omnium vertices altius excrevit. Scintillae cun facibus primæ venantes ardoribus deultra muros altissimos evolebant et jam domus interioris atrii succedentes prohibentium viras ex superando confregerant.

Once again, historians in the past have used his words to suggest details of the Castle's layout which he simply does not mention (for instance (Gee 1928, 12 - 13). Even the commonplace that the fire started on the north side, probably the area now known as Silver Street, does not appear to have been stated by Reginald, when the text is examined (Gee 1928, 12 footnote).

While Boyle does not formally present a translation in his history, it is clear from a comparison of the English with the Latin that his account is more or less a translation

of the Latin text. I have therefore based the following English text on Boyle's account (1892, 151).

> ...whilst the raging fire was destroying the dwellings of the city, the brethren at the outset of their effort, hastened quickly to the scene, carrying with them a chest which contained many of the sacred relics of the church. Whilst others with lances, shields, and hatchets sought to restrain the devouring flames, they more easily checked their fury armed only with prayers, priestly benediction and the pledges of the saints. Already the conflagration had consumed all the buildings of the lower city and the intensity of the heat had compelled the firemen (extinctores) to take refuge within the walls of the castle. For this reason they mounted the walls and emulated each other in placing pieces of timber between the stone battlements (propugnacula) for their defence. A violent wind from the north blew in upon them and the fire rose up higher, more than the length of a lance above all the highest points of the castle. Igniting sparks and flaming fragments flew above the highest walls and advancing towards the apartments of the inner hall destroyed everything which had been placed to retard their progress."

In addition Reginald adds one or two other details. From him we learn the name of Bishop Le Puiset's architect, *"Ricardus Ingeniator"* (Reginald 1835, 112), and that the prison or dungeon at the time of Le Puiset's accession to the See, was in the Keep (Reginald 1835, 105).

Geoffrey of Coldingham

As mentioned under Reginald, Geoffrey also refers to the fire in the early days of Le Puiset's episcopate but his reference is even briefer:

> In castello itaque Dunelmiae aedificiaquae primus episcopatus sui temporibus flamma consumpserat, renovavit.
> (1839, 12)

Translation:

> In the Castle of Durham he renewed those buildings which, in the first times of his episcopate, had been consumed by fire.

While it helps to confirm Reginald's story, it tells us nothing of details.

Pipe Rolls 13, and14 John

These Rolls covering the years 1211 - 1213 mention payments for building works at the Castle of Durham. As mentioned in chapter 1 this is the main dating evidence for the north-west tower. King John held the castle from the death of Bishop Philip de Poitiers in 1208 to the inception of the episcopacy of Richard de Marisco in 1217. In the Pipe Roll for the thirteenth year of his reign and dated 1213, it is recorded:

> in work done at the castle and houses of the castle of Durham and at one portcullis and one bar garriz. £18.5.0 (Pipe Roll 13 John, 39)

The Pipe Roll for the fourteenth year and also dated to 1213 further notes:

> in repairing the castle and houses at Durham £13.3.3 d by writ of the King.
> (Pipe Roll 14 John, 47)

Robert de Graystanes

Robert de Graystanes' History covering the years 1214 - 1336, really falls outside the period of our study and largely concerned, as it is, with the non-architectural deeds of the Bishops, it need not detain us, except to note its existence.

Skirlaw's Copyhold books

A brief mention under an entry for 1388 records that the castle moat ended at the Bastion Tower on the east side of the castle (Skirlaw B. 465). This almost certainly means that bastion surviving below the keep (Plates 87 and 88) and is a useful geographical delineation of the moat limits.

William de Chambre

William de Chambre has only a little known about him. His narrative overlaps slightly with that of Robert de Graystanes slightly by covering the period from 1333 to 1559.

The ascription of this history to a person of this name was first made by Wharton (see below).

According to Raine (1839, viii) the Cottonian manuscript of the narrative history of Robert de Graystanes (Cotton. Titus A. II. i) terminates with the commencement of the Life of Bishop Bury (1333 - 1345). This Life is stated in a note to have been extracted from the "Durham History of William de Chambre" and corresponds word for word with a Bodleian manuscript which forms the main part of the text of William's History. Wharton therefore concluded that the main Bodleian manuscript was written by an author of that name.

Raine pointed out that the author of the manuscript had borrowed words and phrases from Geoffrey of Coldingham's work and believed that the history had been compiled by more than one person (Raine 1839, viii).

There exists a grant of a corrody dated 1365 to a man named as William de l'Chambre. It was from the Prior and Convent of Durham to a man described as "*officium marescalciae aulae abbathiae nostrae Dunelmensis.*" Raine thought it very likely that this was the same person as had initially started the manuscript and concluded that he might have carried the history on to the beginning of the fifteenth century. At that point the historical narrative becomes rather a series of chronological memoranda, perhaps added to the history by a number of different persons (Raine 1839, xiv - xv).

Its main importance is as a main source for the works of Bishop Hatfield and the comprehensive changes which he made in the structures of the Castle during his episcopacy (1345 - 1381).

William's writing was marginally ambiguous and has allowed misunderstanding by later authors. His statement that Hatfield rebuilt the West Hall totally, (*de novo construxit)* led to the impression, until the nineteenth century, that the Hall was a structure entirely of the fourteenth century. His statement that "he [Hatfield] entirely rebuilt the Episcopal Hall together with the Constable's Hall..." about the North Hall, has resulted in an impression about the original spatial arrangements within that building that

has lasted until the modern day. This will be discussed in chapter 5 which attempts to reconstruct the original form of the twelfth century Hall.

Leland

Leland's account which occurs in his *Collectanea* is a mixture from the two main Symeon works, the *Historia Regum* and the *Historia Ecclesiae Dunelmensis.* The selections which Leland has made are welded together with no apparent logic but do appear to have been copied out faithfully from the original texts. The extracts are generally abridged and contain no comment and no new information. Their main importance was that they brought Symeon to the attention of a later age of scholars. Hutchinson used Leland as one of his main sources (see Appendix B).

In addition, Leland passed through Durham in his "*Itinerary in England and Wales*" (Leland 1964 72-4), and furnishes us with a description of the buildings as they were, at the end of the Middle Ages, before the extensive changes made by Bishop Cosin (1660 - 1672) and also gives some details of the outer defences. It reads:

"The towne self of Duresme stondith on a rokky hille .... the highest part of the hille is well waullid and hath diverse fair gates.
The castelle stondith stately on the north est side of the ministre and Were rennith under it. The kepe stondith a loft and is state buildid of viij square fascion and 4. highes of logginges. Bisshop Fox did much reparation of this dungeon: and he made besides in the castelle a new kychen with the offices and many praty chaumbers.
Tunstal hath also done cost on the dungeon and other places of the castel and hath buildid a goodly new galery and a stately stair to it and made an exceding strong gate of yren to the castelle. The building of Duresme toun is meately strong but it is nother high nor of costely werke. There appere sum peaces of waulles of the toune joyning to a gate of the palace waul but the toun it self with yn the peninsula is but a smaul thing in respect of cumpace of al the stately close: so that it alonly may be caullid the waullid toune of Duresme."

(Leland 1964 72-4)

This passage suggests that Bishop Fox (1494 - 1501) repaired the Keep and there is also evidence from de Chambre that he (i.e. Fox) intended to furnish it with a kitchen (De

Chambre 1839, 150). Even at this late time in the medieval period it would seem that the Keep was still a functioning structure, or at least intended as such.

The "new kitchen with the offices" is still largely intact and the "many praty chaumbers" may refer to his divisions within the North Hall.

Leland confirms that Bishop Tunstal (1530 - 1559) had also spent money on the Keep and notes his Gallery stair and iron gate, all which features survive.

Although he calls the town "well waullid", his remarks in the last paragraph of the extract suggest that the defences were in decline or at least not strongly maintained.

After the work by de Chambre and his continuators and the description of the Castle at the end of the Middle Ages by John Leland, the Reformation appears as a punctuation mark. Generally speaking, the sorts of chronicles and histories that have been discussed in this chapter, cease.

A brief summary of the documentary evidence

The historical is sparse but informative. It does not afford a detailed description of the early castle and it would be naive to expect it to do so. It does contain some elements which can be used with surviving archaeological evidence to produce a picture.

Ordericus Vitalis suggest that there may have been some pre-castle works of defence although, of course, he does not specify the castle site as receiving them.

Symeon also tells us something of the Saxon town and the early defences and indicates that somewhere on the peninsula area, not far from the Cathedral was the Earl's Palace. Symeon also provides the foundation date of 1072 and the information that while not strictly a royal castle, the castle was founded at the King's order. One might expect to find factors that influenced the founding of other royal castles.

The charter of Queen Matilda indicates that revenue from the estate at Waltham was used to fund the construction of the castle. Since the estate at Waltham was given to the Bishops by the King it suggests a continuing royal interest in seeing the castle completed as well and as quickly as possible.

Symeon's Continuator describes Flambard's clearing of the Palace Green area and the building of the wall between the castle and the church.

Laurence is the fullest information in this early period. He describes a timber 'citadel' on a mound with an interior 'house'; a bridge from the 'house' to the battlements; a bridge from the 'citadel' down into the castle; a wall descending from the citadel, running to the west curving around on itself and rejoining the citadel - in other words, an enclosure or curtain wall. Within this wall are structures. Two structures large and impressive enough to warrant the term 'palace'; a chapel with six columns; other 'houses'. No part of the enclosure is vacant - everywhere there are buildings. A central courtyard with a well is described; a strong gate with a bridge leading across a ditch; a wall from the citadel to the church.

Reginald details the fire in the twelfth century and Geoffrey of Coldingham confirms the general rebuilding of the castle by du Puiset.

The Pipe Rolls indicate that some work of an unspecified nature but involving repair was carried out in the time of King John.

The works by De Chambre and Leland give some details of the later medieval works which assists in indicating where there has been later changes and remodelling.

Of all these writings, that by Prior Laurence gives the most hope as an aid to reconstructing the early layout. His picture of a strong enclosure wall crowded with buildings, with a tower on the mound above, is an image we can recognise as fulfilling our expectation of a high ranking castle. It must be emphasised again however that Laurence is writing a poem to achieve an aim. A poetic polemic should not be expected to provide blow by blow architectural details of a monument that is only a side issue to its main theme.

CHAPTER 3

SECONDARY SOURCES

From the late sixteenth century there was an increasing national interest in the past and Durham attracted its share of interested historians and antiquarians. The visual record also begins here with publication of Patteson's map in 1595. The visual record itself is the subject of a later chapter but here we may note that from this period we are not merely restricted to the written record.

As these later histories are generally removed in time from the events they describe, they are treated as secondary source material. The greater part of this material is discussed in Appendix B which includes the detailed discussion of their content; the historical 'borrowings' of one author from another; the transmission of errors through the historical record.

As before there are a number of tables listing the various sources and these are collected in Appendix E.

Here, there will be a brief overview of the historical transmission and an attempt to identify the main passages of interest or use to this study. There are a number of documents in the later material which, however, qualify as primary source material. These, (for example Bishop Cosin's Correspondence) deal with the later alterations to various areas of the Castle and are thus contemporary with the works they describe.

The sixteenth century

The Watsons are the first post-Reformation historians, although their work does not seem to have been published. The main part of their history is transcription of Symeon's works with additional comments and notes written in above the main text (BL Cotton. Vit. C. IX).

The adulatory poem addressed to one of the Watsons which prefaces their main work is based on the history of Durham city and in the margin against the verses there is a brief note of some interest. It reads "Duresme wallid by Bpp Flambus Ano 1102". While other accounts (e.g. Symeon, above) also refer to Flambard's works of fortification, this is the only reference I know of that links a firm date with the work.

The Watsons' work is important for several reasons. The work has never been properly analysed or studied (see Appendix B). It can be strongly suggested from circumstantial evidence that the Watsons were linked with monastic officials at Durham before the Reformation (see Appendix B). It is possible that they had access to monastic records and sources which have not survived. Their book may thus contain the only record, however fragmentary of this missing material.

It can be demonstrated that although later historians do not acknowledge the Watsons' work, many had used it as a source. The work may indeed be responsible for the creation and transmission of a major assumption about the moat through an later erroneous readings of the text which is very badly scribbled and very difficult in places due to the inserted remarks (see Appendix B).

The Seventeenth Century Sources

The seventeenth century was the time of Bishop Cosin's great rebuilding after the damage of the Civil War. Good sources appear to be greatly lacking for this period and some that might be hoped for, such as Cosin's accounts, seem to have perished. According to Raine, no original records of the Palatinate were transcribed in the Collection made by Bishop Cosin and he inferred from this that these records had disappeared before the start of Cosin's episcopate, that is, the year 1660. However he also quotes from a document entitled "State of Records of ye County Palatine of Durham", which he believed to have been "compiled apparently in the beginning of last century" (1839, xx). The document is more fully quoted in Hardy (1854, 47-8).

This document claimed that the "Original Grants and Evidences of the See...were ... reposited in a great chest which used to be kept in the Gatehouse"

(Raine 1839, xxi). This may well be that chest now surviving and at present to be found on the Tunstall Gallery.

According to the document that Raine quotes, these papers were taken out of the chest by Bishop Cosin and were then removed by his Executors to Helperby in Yorkshire. There they came into the hands of a man called Basset who had inherited the greater part of the Bishop's estate. In order that there should no dispute about his ownership of the lands he directed his Steward, Mr. Jackson, to burn all the Bishop's writings. According to the manuscript, this was done:-

> And upon this occasion there were eight or nine large chests of writings all burnt, save a few only.... These originals were very numerous and the knowledge of them only to be obtained from the abstracts taken in 16.9, now in the hands of Wm. Lee (Raine 1839, xxi).

Raine further notes that Lee's book, referred to in the extract, has also disappeared (1839 xxii) Nor is this the end of the dismal tale. The same document says:-

> ...it will appear yt in this office [the Auditor's] are wanting proper conveniences for ye repository of records, yt many of ye record of this office have been imbezled lost or destroyed..

The manuscript further states that original grants belonging to the See, "...and ancient Records...are all destroyed."

In the 16th Report of the Deputy Keeper of Public Records, Hardy catalogues a whole trail of destruction from the seventeenth century to the date of the Report, 1854, a trail which appears to begin with Barrett's destruction of Cosin's manuscripts.

There are a number of works e.g. Camden (1695), Hegge (1626), and Hall (1603), which briefly mention the Castle although they add little to what had been previously written. Hall's work demonstrates fairly clearly the transmission of Watson's moat error (see Appendix B).

The main source from this period is the correspondence of Bishop Cosin (1160 -1672). Bishop Cosin's Correspondence (edited Ornsby 1872), is one of the few

collection of documents to have survived from the episcopacy of a man who was energetic in the Palatinate and City of Durham. He was the first incumbent after the ravages of the Civil War, which took its toll on the old buildings. A Royal letter dated 6th of November, 1660 says:-

> ...We are informed that the Pallaces belonginge to the Bishoppe of Durham are either demolished or become very ruinous through the disorders of the late ill tymes.
>
> (Cosin 1872, 10)

Also in a letter to Dr. Sancroft on September seventeenth 1661, Cosin himself says that one of the expenses uppermost in his mind was "...the reparation of my ruined houses..." (Cosin 1872, 30-2).

Cosin's far reaching "reparation" and indeed, additions, irrevocably changed the appearance of the Castle. By understanding how much and what he changed we may be led back to a better appreciation of the earlier appearance of the building. Fortunately many of the letters deal with such matters as the construction of the Black Stairs and the laying out of the Keep terraces, and these have been collected in an appendix to the collection (Cosin 1872, 309 -386).

The Eighteenth Century Sources

The eighteenth century saw a rash of new histories and works, although it tends to be dominated in terms of source material and influence by one writer, i.e. Hutchinson. Also in this century, the visual record expands considerably in both quality and quantity. The visual material is discussed in Chapter 4 although in examining the structure of the building, both sets of evidence must obviously be used together.

Bishop Butler's accounts indicate that in his time (c.1751) the Keep had become ruinous (BL ADD MSS 9815). It was in fact so dangerous that the surveyor refused to enter it. Evidently little or nothing had been done to it since Tunstall's work and it seems to have become derelict.

There are a number of brief guides to the city written in this period e.g. Cox (1720-31), Sanderson (1767), and Burlington(1779) but these add nothing to what has been discussed with the exception of perhaps Burlington who adds some comments on the later history (see Appendix B).

There are also a number of collections of documents e.g. Hunter (1733), Gough (1780), and Gutch (1781), which are useful in summarising the contemporary available eighteenth century sources (see Appendix B).

The main source in the eighteenth century is the County history of Hutchinson written between 1785 and 1787. He drew heavily for his main sources on the accounts of Symeon (1882, 1885), Leland (1774), and Wharton (1691) but also seems to have quoted material from other works that he has not referenced. In terms of observations or additions, "never before published" he has filled out certain details that were lacking or obscure in his sources with ideas or inspired guesses. His work was enormously influential and many facts, received as such by the modern age, had their beginnings in some speculation or guess by Hutchinson.

Lambert's history is less useful as a literary source. It seems to have been a piece of unsolicited flattery for Bishop Barrington (1791 - 1826). It is full of historical errors. It does, however, include a plan of the Castle, albeit rather simplistic and this has been reproduced in the present work as Plan C. Lambert also says that the Keep had become so dangerous by 1789 that Bishop Thurlow ordered the top storey pulled down (Lambert 1796, 17).

The nineteenth Century Sources

The nineteenth century histories are generally expansions, elaboration, or rewritings of what had gone before, especially the work by Hutchinson (see Appendix B).

Fordyce (1857) contains some use asides about the works carried out by the University on the Norman Chapel and Junction (Fordyce 1857, 289).

The accounts of the Castle by Boyle (1890 & 1892) are frustrating in that he often includes extra material in the form of comments that is not found in other authors and generally remains unreferenced and untraceable. For all that he does give the first historical notice of the Undercroft and furnishes some interesting details on it (See Appendix; B and above page 20).

Twentieth Century Sources

The main sources of the twentieth century are either writings by the former Master of University College (Dr. Gee), or connected with the restoration of the Castle in the 1930's. The various remarks by Henry Gee and his architect Jones are particularly useful (Gee 1904, 1928, and unpublished notes; Jones 1922). They seem to have indulged in some clandestine archaeological exploration. While frustratingly unthorough and incomplete, their evidence does help to fill out the picture of the early Norman layout of the Castle. Their remarks are scattered through a number of papers, letters, and loose notes (such as Greenwell and Hodges 1886 - 1908) and will be referenced individually in the text of the present study, as necessary (see Appendix B).

CHAPTER 4

THE VISUAL EVIDENCE

The surviving visual evidence for the early castle at Durham is as patchy and poor as the written record. Relatively little exists from before the year 1700 and there are constraints and conditions which have governed what survives generally. Most of the drawings, for example, survive because they were printed as plates in popular histories or drawing collections. It should also be remembered that they survived because they were thought to be artistic, not necessarily because they were accurate.

The castle has also suffered from an artists' "tunnel vision" similar to other visually impressive buildings. Only a few views of the buildings have been considered good ones, and artists down the ages have concentrated on these to the exclusion of other parts of the building for which our visual record is consequently lacking. The Bishops who owned the building seem only to have allowed a limited access by artists and writers, even in the post-medieval period. Thus illustrators have partly had the views chosen for them by availability. The poor visual record of the courtyard area is one example of this bias; the north side of the north range is, unfortunately, another. The West Range looming above the river cliff is the most romantic as well as threatening, and it is this view which has most appealed to artists. While there are only a few surviving close-up views, the castle was more often illustrated as part of a general view of the city. Some of these drawings are very detailed and while the parts of the building are small it is still possible to gain information from them.

Views which are very commonly illustrated are:-

The view of the castle from the north-west/Framwellgate (most frequent)

The view of the city from the north-west

The view of the castle from the west/South Street (very frequent)

The view of the city from the south-east/Mountjoy hill

The east view of the city from Pelaw Wood hill (frequent in the early nineteenth century)

There are also some early maps that include pictorial representations of the castle as small vignettes within the map lay-out. Some of these are sufficiently well drawn to permit some speculations about observable details but naturally at this small scale such evidence cannot be taken very far.

Also to take into account is the collection of paintings at the castle which includes a number of works depicting the Castle in the pre-1832 period.

THE LATER VISUAL EVIDENCE

This label deals with the visual record of the castle that was published or drawn in the period after the works of Bishop Butler (1750 - 1752) and before the University was founded in 1832. Many structural and architectural changes took place in this period and the record made by various artists is invaluable. In 1837 the University took over the castle buildings for a Hall of Residence occasioning further major alterations. The Keep was rebuilt, for example, and the Norman Chapel building was reopened with its own alterations in structure and fabric. Since the buildings were now open to public scrutiny, this engendered a rash of new historical notices. These ensured the greater survival of drawings and sketches by artists such as Billings, Buckler and Blore, by gathering together and binding their illustrations with the text of these new histories and descriptions.

The artists of the Victorian Age were perhaps influenced by the Romantic movement; they desired to portray the castle as a Romantic place, the stuff of history and legend. Their drawings are more concerned with creating an effect rather than recording detail but none the less yield clues in some areas that are not otherwise recorded.

A full description of the various views and paintings can be found in Appendices C and D. In this chapter there will be a broader discussion with reference to the castle buildings. Lists of the various views and paintings discussed can be found in Tables Seven and Eight which are in Appendix E.

The earliest views

The first views of the city occur on maps. The earliest group, of four, can be considered together since details and styles in the first and earliest are copied in the other three. These are:

a) Map of the City by Matthew Patteson, 1595 (BL Maps 2265 (6) ; (close -up detail on Plate 91)

b) Map of the City by John Speed, 1611 (Nicholson and Hawkyard 1988, 73)

c) Map de Durham by unknown artist, 1650 (BL ADD MS 11564)

d) Dunelmum D. by M. Merian, 1650 (BL Maps 28.bb.13)

I have not included copies of the later three drawings in this volume. They are merely variations of Patteson's map and presumably were copied from it. The work by Patteson's work is a perspective map and the buildings are generally depicted as small boxes with gabled roofs. Public buildings, however, are shown larger and some details can be made out. The representation of the castle shows the Keep on an unstepped conical mound with three large conical towers at the base to the west of it. The gateway is only hinted at. All the city's churches, including the Cathedral but excluding St. Nicholas, are shown with round towers as a convention.

Of interest is a fourth, lower and smaller, conical tower which may be seen well below the main buildings of the castle's Inner Bailey, but definitely separate from that tower which defended the old gateway on Framwellgate bridge and which was demolished in 1760 (Clack 1985, 54).

The possibility must be raised that this is one of the lost towers which Hutchinson claims to have seen on the west side in 1785 and attributed to Flambard (Hutchinson 1785, 284). Hutchinson's reference is confusing and at times it is not

clear whether he is talking about Elvet or Framwellgate bridge. Both bridges were very similar and both were defended by gate towers. However, his claim that the towers, of which these were the remnants, were built to command the pass from the bridge into the borough, fortifying the moat, very much implies that they were on the west side below the present North Range.

Maps b, c, and d all seem to be copies of Patteson, each with its own variation (see Appendix C). The "Map de Durham" depicts the North range with rounded projections on the corners rather like stair turrets. These may be intended as the newel stairs which Gee mentions in his account of the castle (Gee 1928, 78). In his 1911 account of the Castle he also says that the "angles of the general plan are marked by rounded turrets" for which there seems no particular evidence (Gee 1911, 113). It is possible that this drawing is the source of Gee's remarks, although in neither text does he give a reference for it.

Bok (Plate 92)

Another drawing held at the British Library's Map and Print section (2265 (I)) is recorded as "A prospect of Durham from the Southeast" by V. Bok, printed at Amsterdam in 1680. A copy of this print was recently found at the Castle during the office removal (Plate 92). Bok was a careful and accurate artist, generally at pains to represent his subject, not according to the convention of the time, but as near to real life as possible. The evidence strongly suggests that this man went to Durham and drew on the spot but nothing seems known about his life and works.

This south-eastern view gives an impression of the peninsula defences while they were still relatively intact, although it is known from Leland (1964) and Hegge (1626) that decay had already set in. The strong wall is very evident around the south side where there is still the best survival. Intra-mural towers stud the wall every ten to fifteen feet and are of every size from simple watch-towers to strong defensive bastions. The whole ensemble gives the impression of a fortress city and it is easy to appreciate the feelings of awe seen in the works of past writers.

Bok's drawing indicates that the Keep was in quite a state. Foliage is evident around the base of the Keep and there is a general impression of decay. The mound is shown as rough and not stepped. It has traditionally been accepted on the evidence of letters written by Bishop Cosin that he was responsible for the laying out of the terraces under the tower (Cosin 1872, 337). Yet they should have been new when Bok drew them - less than twenty years old. Why should he be at such pains to depict every other building true to life and draw the Keep in this manner? The dating of this drawing is almost certainly wrong. The Cathedral is depicted without its spires which were removed in 1657. The presence of the Black Stairs cupola imply that the drawing was done after 1665, the date of the Stairs' completion. The roughness of the keep mound suggests a date before the end of Bishop Cosin's episcopacy, by which time presumably the terraces were completed. The drawing can thus be dated to somewhere between 1665 and 1672 and is therefore the earliest drawing of the city as a main subject.

Gatehouse and Barbican

The entrance to the Castle features in a number of views (Plates 92, 96, 97, 99, 101, 104, and 107). Its form was similar in the past - a single central tower with lower towers projecting into the Barbican. By the time of the earliest drawings, the moat had already been backfilled and there is no drawing which contains this feature. Grimm's drawing of the 1770s is the only one which depicts surving Romanesque features. On either side of the main window of the central tower he drew two incomplete and blocked windows. These are simple round headed windows with small square voussoirs. The drawings depict the western project tower as fully the height of the central tower; the eastern tower is shown at half height. In the black and white grisaille painting the western tower is shown with two stages (Plate 96); in the drawings by Buck and Forster, it is shown with four and three stages respectively, although it should be remembered that Forster's drawing is almost certainly a simple copy of Buck (Plates 97 and 99 and see Appendix D). Grimm's drawing shows the

western tower as three stages. Also present on the Grimm drawing is a pair of blind round headed arches on the wall leading to the keep. All the drawings depict this wall as fully the height of the Gate tower, but only Grimm has this feature of arches. Plates 96, 97, and 104 show a door half way up the Keep mound with a three light window above. Possibly there was a small mural tower here with a chamber in it. All these early features were lost when Wyatt "restored" the Gatehouse in the late eighteenth century and the subsequent rebuilding of the Keep wall (see Chapter 1).

Garden Stairs

Garden Stairs was never illustrated for its own sake but as a part of any view of the south front (Plates 96, 97, 99, 101, and 107). These drawings also give some information about the features in the Garden Stairs wall which leads to the Gatehouse. All of these drawings were executed after the rebuilding of Garden Stairs by Bishop Cosin and the building, along with the Low tower, looks very much as it does now.

All the drawing show three windows in the Garden Stairs wall and these presumably are part of the long building shown on Plans B and C. The impression is of a gallery like feature similar to the Tunstall Gallery and perhaps of the same date.

Kitchen

The Kitchen most often features in views from the west or south-west (Plates 93, 94, 95, 101, 107). The general views of plates 93 and 94 depict the tower as little more than an artistic convention; a square block with regular rectangular windows. Plates 101 and 107 which are the same drawing (see Appendix D) depict it more carefully. The surviving three light window on the west side can be seen and in Plate 107 there may be an attempt to show the blocked Romanesque opening on that side also.

The West Range

The north-west and west view of the Castle was very popular with illustrators so a number of views survive that show the west range before the re-organisation of Bishop Trevor (1752 - 1771). Plates 93 and 94 are the earliest views of this area. Most of the West Range in these two paintings is shown, as the Kitchen is, just as a rectangular block with rectangular windows. A pitched roof can be seen in the area of the present West Courtyard and this feature is also repeated in Plates 95 and 103. The windows seem very formalised; a simple way of filling the space, although the lower set would be at a lower level than anything known at present in this area. According to the Master of the College, this area did contain chambers but these were filled with concrete in the 1930s as part of an attempt to stabilise the Great Hall (Dr Salthouse, pers. comm.)

A more realistic view of the west range is shown in Plates 95 and 103. These show a jumble of interlocking towers, relatively square on Plate 95 but rather more polygonal on 103. It was possibly this untidy arrangement that prompted Bishop Trevor to re-organise the west side by building the Servery building which can be seen in later prints (e.g. Plate 109). The northernmost building is in the area of the present West courtyard. It is shown as open at the north end but roofed at the southern end. The small tower to the south is no longer standing although the doorway that led to it is still present. The function of the southernmost tower shown is not but may be an attempt to depict the fifteenth century buttress still surviving on the west side below the Buttery.

The Great Hall

The Great Hall features in drawings showing the west side of the Castle (Plates 93, 94, 95, 98, 101, 103, and 109) and those showing the courtyard area (Plates 96, 97, and 110). In the views from the west the clearest features are the double windows at the north end of the Great Hall showing the division into the Black Parlour and the lower chamber by Bishop Neile (See Chapter 1 and Plates 95 and 103). Also visible in these

two plates is the small square building at the south end of the Great Hall, probably constructed by Bishop Fox as a small servery. In later prints the present Servery is usually the prominent feature (e.g. Plate 109).

The courtyard views show three main differences from the present building. The oriel window on the east wall of the Great Hall is absent in the grisaille painting and the Buck print (Plates 96 and 97) but present in Boyle and Billings (Plates 90 and 110). It was was presumably added in the early nineteenth century, perhaps as part of the University works. The east windows are shown in their original thirteenth century length in the grisaille, Buck, and Billings (Plates 96, 97, and 110) but at the present length in Boyle (Plate 90). These were probably changed during the restorations of Hodgson-Fowler in 1878. The present south door of the Undercroft appears to have made out of an existing window; this window is shown on the grisaille, Billings and Boyle (Plates 90, 96, and 110). The early loops are rarely shown in the early drawings. One is possibly shown on the grisaille (Plate 96). Nothing is shown in this position on Buck. On Boyle the positions are obscured by two strategically placed undergraduates; in Billings this end is shrouded in gloom (Plates 90 and 110).

The Black Stairs

The Black Stairs features in many eighteenth century drawings of the Castle by virtue of the large cupola which crowned it. The courtyard views obviously feature the stairs (Plates 96, 97 and 109). The prominence given to the Black Stairs cupola and the cupola on the Gatehouse on the west views of Plates 93, 94, 95, and 103 and even in the distant views of Plates 100 and 102, suggests that both were well known landmarks. The Gatehouse dome disappeared in the restoration of Wyatt; the fate of the Black Stairs cupola is less certain. It has gone by the time of the west view of the city by Maria Pixell in 1782 (BL Maps K.34.r) It is possible to suggest that Bishop Barrington (1791 - 1830) removed it when he renovated the roof of the North Range.

The North Range

The North Range features in both north views and in courtyard views and a fair amount of information can be gleaned on the early building (Plates 89, 93, 94, 96, 97, 103, 108, and 110). In addition the west end of the range features in west views (Plates 95, 98, and 109).

The earliest views, those of the grisaille and Buck (Plates 96 and 97) depict the North Hall relatively simply with two levels of windows. The grisaille shows five windows on each level (allowing for one partly hidden by the larger window on the Tunstall Gallery), divided by four pilaster style buttresses (Plate 96). The Buck print shows five windows on each level divided by five strip buttresses. One window is also obscured on the Buck print, this time by the Gatehouse cupola which is depicted as very tall. The main difference between the two is in the space between the two western windows at the west end of the upper level. Here, the grisaille shows an inserted slim rectangular window but on the Buck print, the space is depicted as identical to the other divisions between the upper windows. The grisaille is more likely to be correct. This inserted window would be at the point in the Norman Gallery where a triplet has collapsed (Plate 72). Measurement of the other triplets suggests there would be a gap between the final two of about half a metre which could accommodate a slim opening of the sort shown on the painting. It may be that the Norman engineer left this space because it is at the point where the old and new work join and there is a visible kink in the building (Plans A and M). The window would be adjacent to one of the divisions in the ceiling supposed to mark the divisions between servants' dormitories created by Lord Crewe (1674 -1721). Possibly this extra window was inserted in the space by Lord Crewe, and being on the weak joint, eventually caused the adjacent triplet to collapse.

Both the grisaille of the north-west view and the colour copy depict the North side of the North Range very plainly (Plates 93 and 94). All the windows are shown as plain rectangles divided into four panes, the only difference being a slightly larger size of rectangle used for the lower series. This aspect is repeated on the close view from

the north-west by Forster in 1754 (Plate 103). The difference here is that Forster depicts two windows in Gothic style on the lower floor. These would correspond with the windows of the present Senior Common Room which was restored in the gothic style for Bishop Trevor (1752 - 1771; see chapter 1). Elevation 13 indicates that some artistic licence is in play here. The two slim windows at the east end have never been wider. The Gothic windows of the Common Room are lower than the others, as their possible rectangular predecessors would have been. It should be noted the north-west grisaille and its colour copy both depict the windows at the west end of the North Range as rectangular also (Plates 93 and 94). There is no reason to believe that their present Romanesque form is not original; the view from South Street, the view by Forster, and the later view by Allom, show them in this form (Plates 95, 98, and 103).

In the second half of the eighteenth century both the north and south walls of the Norman gallery were substantially refaced and the range took on the aspect it has today (Plates 108 and 110). There are no clear drawings of the north wall of the North Range after Forster; Lambert's illustration for his "Notes etc" was little more than a sketch and only the Gothic restorations are drawn in any detail (Plate 89).

The Chapel Range

There are three early illustrations depicting the Chapel Range and all are in broad agreement (Plates 96, 97, and 108). The building is shown as rather squashed behind the later Tunstall Chapel. At the east end there is a narrow building at right angles with a sharply sloping roof. This would in in the position of the present Senate bedroom. Its function is not known although it may have been connected with the early chapel (See Appendix N).

Buckler's painting appears to show a wall walk rising from behind the Chapel Building and adjoining the Keep. Perhaps this is the ruined remnant of the "bridge" which rose from "the house to the battlements" spoken of by Laurence of Durham (ed. Raine 1880 11).

The only pre-1800 interior drawn was that of the Norman Chapel by Grimm (Plate 106). He has drawn it from an odd perspective but the internal details make it clear that it is the Chapel that is depicted (Appendix N). It appears very much as now. The drawing was published by George Allan and attributed to Grose but its presence in Grimm's original book of drawings suggests that Grimm indeed was the artist (see Appendix D). The note attached to the drawing that the artist had "got in through a cellar" suggests that this part of the building was no longer in use.

The Keep

As the Castle's most prominent feature the Keep features in most views, both distant and close-up. In the grisaille views and the colour copy it is difficult to guage how functional the Keep is and how far it is used (Plates 93, 94, and 96). The two north-west views do however give some additional information.

Openings of some kind can be seen in the side of the Keep mound - three are shown in Plate 93 and two in 94. No division is made into panes of glass as is shown in the windows in the painting, and these openings are probably meant to represent doors of some kind. If this is an accurate depiction, their great interest lies in the fact that the lowest "doors" would give access onto levels below the Keep which are not now accessible and about which nothing is now known.

Both Buck and Forster depict the Keep in a dilapidated state (Plates 97 and 103). Bok's drawing (Plate 92, discussed above) had already shown the Keep in this state at the end of the seventeenth century. At the restoration in 1846 a dedication stone was found declaring that Lord Crewe had restored the Keep but how far this work went is not known. It may be that Buck and Forster are deliberately romanticising the building but in 1751 it was thought so dangerous that the Bishop's surveyor refused to enter it (Bishop Butler's Accounts 1751). In 1789 Bishop Thurlow pulled down the top storey which was threatening to fall and Lambert and Buckler's drawings show the tower in its ruined state (Plates 89 and 108).

Lost ruins

One of the great areas of interest in these early views is the area at the west end of the North Range below the north-west tower. It is in this area that Hutchinson claimed to have seen ruined tower remnants at the end of the eighteenth century (Hutchinson 1785, 284).

The earliest clue may be the tower shown on Patteson's map (Plate 91 and discussed above). Two other early drawings also show some kind of remains on this spot (Plates 103 and 107). Forster's close north-west view depicts some large fragments of ruined masonry at this point and also on the slope below the North Range. On the print by Sparrow there is a double line of masonry blocks shown beneath the West Range. Whilst each of these drawings is inconclusive by itself, the group suggests that there may be remains of great archaeological interest on the north-west side of the Castle.

CHAPTER 5

INTEGRATION OF THE EVIDENCE

This chapter will examine the problems of reconstructing the form and evolution of the early castle. Once again it will take the form of a systematic survey of the buildings, starting at the Barbican and Moat area. In each area I will examine what the present layout suggests, what is known from the historical record, and what can be deduced from the visual record. From this evidence it should be possible to propose a sequence of development.

When construction of the domestic buildings started in the Inner Bailey or enclosure, stone appears to be used from the start. It has been assumed in the past that in low stone bearing areas or within earth and timber castles the Chapel was the first building to receive the distinction of stone. Pounds, however, has argued that this cannot be assumed and many chapels may have been of timber on masonry footings (Pounds 1991, 18). He saw the earliest masonry chapels as built into the keep such as at the Tower of London and Colchester. Certainly the chapel in the bailey at Hen Domen is of timber as are the other structures at that site (Barker and Higham 1988). Hereford Palace provides at least one example where the Bishops' twelfth century hall, although grand, was of timber while the eleventh century chapel had been built in stone (Blair 1987). Chepstow, Monmouth, Corfe, and Richmond may be cited as examples of stone built castles in stone bearing areas where buildings other than the chapel were also built of stone from the first. At Durham the date of the East Range which had architectural connections with the Chapel (see page 40), is uncertain, while the plain south window of the West Range (Plate 36) is probably very early indeed in the castle's chronology. Fragments of curtain wall appear to survive in the Norman Chapel (Chapter 1, page 33), and the Low Tower (Chapter 1, page 12). It might be expected that the curtain wall and motte would receive first attention. Once the primary defensive enclosure was complete, then attention could

turn to the buildings. At Durham, however, as will be demonstrated, construction of domestic buildings and military defences often seem to have gone hand in hand.

THE MOAT

It is not clear that the moat was a primary feature. It is attributed to Bishop Flambard (1099 - 1128) by Hall (1603) but as has been suggested above (chapter 3 and Appendix B) this may have arisen from a misreading of Watson's history. Apart from the uncertainty of this attribution, that prelate's time is a clear generation later than the foundation date of the castle. Laurence in the *Dialogii* speaks of the bridge in front of the castle stretching across the ditch (ed. Raine 1880, 12). The poem has been dated on internal evidence to around 1144 so the moat or ditch probably existed by that time (Kinderman 1969, 31).

Kenyon assumes that a motte is an enditched mound (Kenyon 1990, 3) and in the recent RCAHM volume on Glamorgan, the majority of motte profiles are shown with encircling ditches (RCAHM 1991, 52). At Durham, the ditch or moat to the immediate south of the south curtain wall curves halfway around the motte from its south-western to its eastern side (Plan A). Whether there was originally a branch to the moat on the motte's western side, thus creating a motte almost completely encircled by a ditch, is difficult to determine. However, that area within the Inner Bailey which would have contained this branching ditch is now filled in and would appear to have been so from at least the fourteenth century, when Bishop Hatfield (1345 - 1381) expanded the base of the Keep mound (Simpson and Hatley 1953, 56-64). Unfortunately the section reproduced in that article (1953, 58; reproduced here as Elevation 8) does not extend to the peak of the mound deposits and is truncated on the west by the Chapel wall. It is thus very difficult to extrapolate the size of the original mound from this. The East Range must have been on the west side of the motte ditch (if one existed) but on Jones' plan of 1904, further structures are shown extending from the east wall of the east range and disappearing under the present limit of the mound (Plans A & S). This would suggest that any ditch in the Inner Bailey had been filled in at a very early date, that the

original mound was really very small, or that the courtyard branch of the motte ditch, if it existed, was very narrow. The northern quadrant of the motte is now occupied by the North Terrace although this does not exclude the possibility that there was originally a motte ditch at this side. As has been pointed out in chapter 1, the northern slope's profile has been greatly altered so any original evidence may be deeply buried (page 41).

Durham's motte had a moat or ditch on its south and east sides. It does not appear to have a ditch on its north side; the west side - the bailey side - is uncertain. Taking the evidence of Laurence's poem the curtain walls ascended the mound and joined to a stone shell which encircled the timber keep. Noble castles founded in the same period include a wide variety of types demonstrating these features. Of the Royal castles founded close to the conquest, Hertford had an encircling moat to its motte but this may have been influenced by its proximity to the river Lea which supplied the moat's water (Colvin 1963, 677). Recent excavations at Gloucester reveal that it too had an enditched motte within a square bailey, two sides of which were created from the existing Roman town ditches (Atkin 1991, 21). Cardiff, Ongar, Oxford, and Berkhamsted are examples of enditched or moated mottes, while Bramber is unditched in the centre of its bailey and Eardisley has a moat but not on the bailey side. Farnham's motte is in the middle of the bailey and has no ditch but the motte is encircled by a stone and rubble wall. Barnstaple and Pickering both have stone shells on unditched mottes while at Windsor there is a shell on the motte which has no ditch separating it from the east bailey. At Lincoln there are two unditched mottes on the line of the curtain wall, the larger of which has a polygonal stone shell. Tonbridge Castle has a layout whose shape is extremely reminiscent of Durham's and there the curtain walls ascend the mound and join to an oval stone shell. The motte is moated to the north but not on the side where the bailey adjoins (Renn 1968, 325). This brief résumé of examples does not settle the question at Durham. However, given that there appears to be no ditch on the mound's northern side (see below) Durham may be closer to the Tonbridge model and only have a moat on its south and east sides where it was felt that defence was most needed.

Also shown on the Jones plan of 1904 is the supposed "Site of the Outer Moat" on the north-west corner of the defences (Plan S). There is no strong historical evidence for this. It is assumed by Gee that the find of a misericord in 1908 (now in the Tunstall Chapel) was recovered from the moat (Gee notes, unpublished). However, the description of the deposit from which it was taken would fit any organic slightly waterlogged fill and need not necessarily be in the moat at all. It is also clear that it was found beneath the floor of a workshop simply lying directly on top of archaeological deposits and there was no proper excavation of the archaeological feature in which it lay. The allocation of the description "moat" was merely a supposition. In 1959 Eric Parsons undertook a series of watching briefs on the areas now occupied by the Woolworth's and Marks and Spencer stores. Two of the areas were just to the north of the present Moatside Lane on the supposed course of the castle moat. In these areas stratified deposits were uncovered including some organic fills described as "black occupational fill". While the standard of archaeology was crude by modern standards it is clear that no moat or large ditch feature was seen by the excavators (Lowther, et al. 1993).

The Carver excavations, referred to in chapter 1, at the base of the north slope and marked on Plan A should also be noted. At a depth of three metres, the excavators were still uncovering post-medieval deposits (Lowther et al. 1993, 42 and pers. comm.). One could argue that the whole of the northern slope profile had been created by these deposits and that the moat was closer in to the castle i.e. to the south of the present Moatside Lane. However, given the height of the natural drift seen in the trenches on the North Terrace (chapter 1, page 42) the fall-off would create a near cliff-like aspect on the north side and seem to render a moat or ditch unnecessary at this point.

Jones' extending of the moat to the north-west corner is probably based on a reference in a Durham manuscript (DCCL Rott. Maj. Infirm. 1469) which states:

> Exonerat de uno ten vasto *super motam* de
> Silou Strete. (my italics)

Translation:

> He discharges one waste tenement on top
> of the castle mound by Silver Street

"Silou Strete" is the modern Silver Street which is below the north-west corner of the castle. "Mota" can be translated as either "motte, castle mound" or as "moat, fish pond" (Baxter & Johnson 1955, 272). According to Armitage, Muratori in the seventeenth century protested against the equation of "Mota" and "Fossatum" but Spelman had made this translation in his *Glossary* (Armitage 1912, 82 n.5). Armitage also recognised the confusion that could arise from moat/mote/motte and opted to use the latter term exclusively. It does not appear that earlier writers were so particular (Armitage 1912, 9 n.1). With all this confusion it is easy to see that Jones read "motam" as "moat" and amended his map accordingly. In fact a moat at this point is unnecessary for here the natural cliffs of the peninsula afford plenty of defence to the north-west corner. There is no other historical evidence for a moat on the north side of the defences. It is more probable that the moat proper ended at the Bastion tower as it was said to do in Skirlaw's Copyhold books in 1388 (Skirlaw B. 465). The north side would have been primarily defended by the curtain wall and strengthened after by the bastion towers built by Flambard. Flambard's work in this regard may have been because there was *no other defence* between the end of the moat and the natural cliffs of the north west corner. The attribution of the name "Moatside Lane" to the alley at this point is probably quite recent.

That portion of the ditch extending west from the curve of the motte and lying to the south and in front of the present entrance has no clear date of construction. The recent excavations in 1991 (Chapter 1, page 6) were unfortunately curtailed while still in

upper deposits and no primary fill was excavated. This stretch could be part of the primary construction or part of the general remodelling of the southern defences in the early twelfth century.

THE BARBICAN AND APPROACH

The Barbican, whose date is unknown, was presumably an addition to the early enclosure. The decorative work on the existing Gatehouse suggests a twelfth century date (Chapter 1, pages 9-10) while the archaeological finds in the courtyard heating trench (Chapter 1 and Appendix L) imply the original entrance was elsewhere. Due to the nature of that excavation (marked as DC91A on Plan A) the evidence is limited.

Removal of the archaeological fill revealed the corner of a stone built construction of good quality and aligned roughly north-south (Plate 83 & 84). It would clearly seem to be connected with the building or range shown by Jones on the 1904 plan on this side of the courtyard (Plan S). If all the wall fragments on this side are integral that building or range would be 20.7 metres long by 10.36 metres wide. It would also be on the same alignment as the West Range and complement it on the east side of the enclosure. The problem that the wall uncovered in the trench was aligned on the present Gate entrance. Even allowing for a quick right angled return in the wall alignment just beyond the limit of the excavation section, the corner of this building would still so severely restrict the use of the main castle entrance as to make it very difficult to use. The implication of the excavation must be that when the building discovered was standing, the main entrance of the castle was elsewhere.

The distance between the motte and the west edge of the peninsula, even allowing for a smaller original mound, is limited. This suggests that the only other logical approach to the Inner Bailey (assuming the motte is primary - see discussion in Chapter 6, pages 137ff) was an approach from the south, positioned slightly further to the west than the present Gatehouse, and avoiding the buildings on the east side of the courtyard.

It is interesting how the south wall of the Garden Stairs building is massive and thickened. It might be argued that this is due to its position on the exposed front face of the Inner Bailey but it should noted that the west wall of the same building is also thickened in this way giving the impression of an early date (see Prologue, page xiii). There may be a surviving fragment of an early Norman building in this area.

The two walls could have survived from an earlier entrance built flush with the wall on the south side and with two blockhouses on the Bailey side projecting back into the courtyard forming a narrow passage. The foundations spoken of by Jones as under the Courtyard would then form the surviving traces of one of the blockhouses.

Other early Norman Gate-passages, later blocked and replaced by adjoining openings, are known at Bramber, Exeter, and Eynsford and locally at Richmond (Renn 1987, 61 & 65). That at Bramber is flush with the curtain wall while at Exeter the towers project from the enclosure wall forming the passage between them. (Renn 1968, 181). At Eynsford the outer face of the gate passage was built flush with the curtain wall and has an eleventh century date (Renn 1968, 186 & 1987, 65). A further example is known at Saltwood where the gate-passage is formed within one of the towers of the curtain wall. The outer face is again flush with the curtain but the date of the construction at this castle is unknown (Renn 1968, 296, 306 & 1987, 65). At Richmond the early entrance is a simple opening through the wall. A tower is later added behind. The exact date of the tower is not certain but believed to be in the eleventh/early twelfth century. Renn, however, says that there is no evidence for a gate passage as such at Richmond (1987, 63). There is a general lack of local examples. Those castles which were founded in the early period have, by the restless nature of the region, been severely altered and most of the early evidence is lost. Prudhoe, however, has a square tower that barely projects beyond the curtain and something of this sort could be envisaged at Durham (Renn 1968, 269 and 288).

The approach to Durham would possibly then be more to the west than at present, with the Low Tower on the left and beyond it, whatever occupied the site of the later Kitchen Tower. Behind these, to the north, would be the Hall on the early Undercroft on the

west side of the courtyard. To the right would be the East range with the Chapel building on a totally different alignment and to the north of it, and directly ahead of the entrance, whatever occupied the north-west corner (discussed below). This model is not presented as an absolute but as a possible alternative.

Further west than the Kitchen Tower the ground falls away dramatically and one is on the edge of the river cliff. This would make construction very difficult. It could be argued that the Kitchen Tower itself was an original gate tower, later converted. On the south side of this building, however, where the putative entrance should be, is the Low tower. If the Low Tower had been added later to an existing south-west tower, i.e. the Kitchen, the south wall of the Kitchen is where one would expect to find evidence of the earlier entrance. Neither externally nor internally is there evidence for a blocked opening, and the Low Tower appears to be part of the original eleventh century construction (Appendix M; Plate 15; Phase Plan I). One problem here is the exact damage done by the twelfth century fire and how extensive rebuilding was at this corner. If the destruction and hence the rebuilding was total, then any early gate, perched on the cliff edge, would be entirely obscured by the later archaeology. The other problem is Garden Stairs. The original construction date of this building is not known, although the thick south and west walls suggest an early date (Prologue, page xiii). The building would obstruct an entrance placed right at the corner of the enclosure, although that could also be used as an argument for the relocation of the early gate to its present position. This last seems to imply a reshuffling of buildings along the south front of the enclosure in the early twelfth century and certainly Bishop Flambard was capable of this as is evidenced by his re-planning of the city.

On balance I feel that the evidence does not support an entrance so far to the west which would approach the courtyard at a very oblique angle and seems to be squashed in a corner away from the main buildings. Other castles of the period while respecting defence did not make their entrances so complicated. This sort of complexifying of the approach is generally a phenomenon from the thirteenth century on and is seen in the Welsh castles e.g. Beaumaris, Conway, Caerphilly.

The predecessor to the present Keep, i.e. the timber construction upon the motte, was almost certainly a primary feature. Another problem of the approach to Bishop Walcher's castle (1072 - 1080) is precisely what access existed to the timber Keep from the Inner Bailey. There could have been a direct ascent from between the Chapel building and the East Range or from near the point occupied by the present Gatehouse. Either of these would match the descriptions of the bridges to the Keep in 1144, spoken of by Laurence of Durham (ed. Raine 1880, lines 381 - 390).

If on the other hand, the Gate is where it has been from the first, one must re-examine the arrangements within the courtyard (bearing in mind the caveat about the East Range) to assess how the space was used to the best advantage. Other early enclosures had only a simple break in the enclosure defence to serve as a gate. Chepstow, Eynsford, Lydney, and locally, Richmond, have examples of these. Eynsford later had a gate built behind it and that at Lydney was overlooked by the Keep on one side and had a rectangular tower on the other. At Chepstow the simple entrance gives access from one bailey to another; the thrust of defence is elsewhere. If there was originally such a simple break in the wall where the Gatehouse now stands the problem of space and of access past the East Range would be greatly reduced.

THE GARDEN STAIRS BUILDING

It would appear that there was an early structure on the site of the present Garden Stairs building as has been shown. With only the two walls surviving, and leaving aside any connection with the early entrance arrangements, little can be said about its function or date of origin. On the latter point, given the similar thick walled buildings in the enclosure (e.g. North Hall and East Range) one can suggest that it is not later than the twelfth century, while its position on the curtain wall of the Inner Bailey implies that it may well be part of the original eleventh century structures.

To the west is the Low Tower (Plate 14). The recent alterations did not involve any major alterations to the early fabric. The investigation of the space in the lower half

of the tower is reported in Appendix M. As with the Garden Stairs building, it appears integral with the eleventh century curtain wall.

THE KITCHEN TOWER

The Kitchen itself is a problem. It is somewhat anonymous as a building, a squat square tower with little relieving detail. It may have been this appearance that led writers in the past to label it as a "Keep" For example, Gee (1928, 70) states categorically that it was built by Du Puiset without citing any firm evidence and suggests that it housed the guard or garrison. Despite Gee's statement that internal traces of floor levels could be seen within the tower, nothing seems to have survived the recent refurbishments. The influence of past historians' statements can be seen in Hugill, where he repeats that the tower was "formerly known as Pudsey's Keep" and that it was "hence probably used as one". He goes on, however, to note that "apart from its flat buttresses, the building has none of the characteristics of a keep of Late Norman times" (Hugill 1979, 49). The buttressing at Durham is irregular on the south side, regular on the west, and as far as can be seen, absent altogether on the east and north sides. It should be noted that these flat buttresses are found on other sorts of building; both halls at Wolvesey Palace have them for example. However the close set buttressing seen on these halls which is partly decorative as well as functional, is not quite the same as that seen on contemporary castle towers. These towers tend to have irregularly sized and spaced buttresses; the halls have evenly spaced regularly sized buttresses. The difference partly stems from the different sizes of the buildings; the towers tend to be smaller and squarer, and perhaps from different function. The towers appear primarily defensive, secondarily residential; the buttressing acts both as a strengthening and an emphasis to the massive defensive walls. Halls are residential in the first instance and the buttresses, while architecturally separating the bays, also are externally decorative. Of the two kinds Durham is closer to the examples of towers such as Corfe, Guildford, and Goodrich, rather than halls like Westminster hall, Clarendon and Canterbury (James 1990, 15 and 43; Renn 1968 158 and 198).

The date conventionally given to the Kitchen comes from a window on the west side (Plate 16). It is a single light round headed window, the arch voussoirs springing from badly weathered capitals which rest on detached shafts. The state of the capitals makes it difficult to be sure of a close date; the shafts, unfortunately, are modern replacements. It is also possible that the capitals are secondary insertions - the isolated position of this opening makes it very difficult to make a close examination. The possibility that this Tower is part of the original accommodation cannot be ruled out, although its function, if not a kitchen, would be obscure.

There are also two surviving openings on the south side of the building. The lower is still used as a window and opens onto the western of the two Late Medieval fireplaces. It is a tall thin loop devoid of detail (Plate 18). The higher opening is blocked and it is clearly cut by the insertion of the lower window (Plate 19). This might well be the only original architectural clue we have as to the original date. Alas, this too is a plain opening. The higher opening has simple square jambs with an arch of similar voussoirs that spring directly without imposts. It has been recognised for some time that these anonymous types of opening are almost undatable and appear on buildings from the seventh to the early thirteenth century (Taylor 1984, 836). The presence of these two intercutting openings, however, implies at least one phase of alteration to the building within the early period.

It therefore must be considered whether this building or an identical predecessor could form part of the eleventh century arrangements and what function it had.

The function, as in other buildings in the castle, is not explicit in the form of the building. A similar square stone tower with only a few small windows can still be seen at Lydford in Devon, although it is much simpler and plainer than Durham. It is of a single stage and has no buttresses. The Lydford structure seems to have been built as a prison, a function it retained until recently (Kenyon 1990, 44). Unlike the Durham Kitchen Tower it stands within a slight motte. However, investigation in the 1950s demonstrated that originally it had been a free standing tower. It has been suggested that the keep at Portchester started as a single storey hall and was later raised into a two storey tower in

the twelfth century (Kenyon 1990, 47). At Durham however, there was already a single storey hall - that in the West Range. It has been previously noted (page 21)that the West hall at Durham was raised into two storeys, probably by William St Calais (1080 - 1096). The development of the kitchen tower at Durham might reflect the Portchester Keep, in developing from a single storey to two storey building. If so, it perhaps parallels the development of the West Range at Durham in general and it could be assumed therefore, that this building had the same relationship to the hall in single storey as in double storey form. This position for a building, in close proximity to one end of the hall (here at Durham, corner to corner) is a logical castle relationship for a kitchen block. Examples might be cited from Sandal, Okehampton, and the second hall at Goltho (Kenyon 1990, 142, 148; Beresford 1987, 110).

Alternatively, the kitchen facilities were originally separate, perhaps in the courtyard itself; this would fit what is known of other eleventh century castles. The East Range seems from its archaeology to have been of a rather higher rank than might be expected to house a kitchen. There is however, plenty of space left in the courtyard where such domestic facilities could have been placed.

The great problem with Durham is as ever the constraint of space. If, as conventional history suggests Bishop Fox (1494 - 1501) converted the tower into a kitchen in 1499, then room has to be found elsewhere for a kitchen within the buildings of the Inner Bailey. One possible position for service rooms is within that set now known as the Chaplain's Suite and situated at the west end of the North Range and on the first floor. Even with all the later changes to these rooms they still exhibit the dual entry that is associated with service rooms although all the internal detail has been changed. These rooms however, would be very small to accommodate the kitchen of a large household - especially remembering that after the building of the Great Hall in the thirteenth century the kitchen would have to serve two halls, the West and North. Before the days of Bishop Cosin the evidence suggests that while there was a slight connection between the North and West Ranges, it was not of the kind that might be expected to furnish a covered way between a kitchen and its hall (see page 20).

Kenyon notes that in noble castles, the accommodation for the noble's family and the household staff tends to be separated with kitchen provision also separate for both. Arrangements of this kind can also be seen in noble castles such as Bolton (Kenyon 1990, 139). It would therefore seem more likely that Durham as a castle and palace of the highest rank should have two kitchens - one to serve the Bishop in the Great Hall and one to serve the Constable's apartments in the North Range. Bishop Fox also intended to create a new kitchen arrangement in the Keep (Hutchinson 1785, 375-6). Whether he relocated the services from the Chaplain's Suite end or replaced an older arrangement is not recorded. The tower at the south end of the Great Hall is less clear in its solution. If the Kitchen serving the Great Hall was elsewhere, another role must be found for this building. If it were supposed to be a Keep or defensive tower as historians have suggested, it might be expected to be elsewhere - a more suitable and conventional position would be in the centre of the enclosure with other buildings around the edge (e.g. Rochester, Dover, Middleham). At the local example of Richmond, there is such a defensive tower situated over the early entrance but there is no separate motte at that site, as at Durham, and the Richmond tower may be supposed to directly defend the early gateway. Although the Durham Kitchen Tower is massive and square as one might expect a defensive tower to be, one would expect the holders of the early castle to concentrate elsewhere in military terms. From Framwellgate Bridge it can be seen that the tower stands no higher than the other buildings on the west; in fact it is not even as high as the thirteenth century Great Hall. Although the evidence of the fabric at the north end of the West hall suggests that the Tower would have been the highest building in this Range (above page 21 and Plate 41), there is still the problem of its position on the south-west corner of the enclosure. Since the passage into the borough is of prime military and civil importance, one would surely expect such a strong tower to be at the north side of the castle, dominating the bridge approach. Even trying to fit it in with the early entrance arrangements seems illogical since this would throw the entrance far to the west. Jones (1922, 275) says that Du Puiset threw the west defence out further west forming the Kitchen and West Courtyard but gives no reference for his remark. A

possible parallel for the conversion of Keep to Kitchen exists at Winchester where there was a massive square building on the east side of the east range. Biddle suggests that it was an early Keep converted to a Kitchen in 1274 when a new Keep was built elsewhere (Biddle 1969, 350). Durham, however, already had a primary defensive tower on the motte and the conversion at Winchester is not at all certain so how far this parallel should be used is questionable.

While the building clearly was built with an eye to defence this may only be because of its location on the corner and slightly projecting as it was, it was felt to be a weak point that needed to be consequently strengthened. It would therefore serve a dual purpose of being a strong defensible tower on the angle which could also serve internally as a kitchen to the west hall. I have argued above as to why I feel that the entrance was not placed this far to the west. If, however, the early entrance was in the Garden Stairs area, it is very possible that the Kitchen tower was built both to defend the angle and the entrance to the bailey. I believe that neither of these functions precludes it also housing the early kitchen.

The most likely conclusion, then, is that this was a defensive angle tower, perhaps primarily military in function but also housing some form of Kitchen and service arrangement for the West Range. It was built it seems with respect to the hall or building on the west side and given the date of the Undercroft's construction, this seems to suggest an early date. The archaeology of the north side would suggest that the west building was the earlier hall and presumably the kitchen would be built to serve it. Since it would seem that Flambard was responsible for the construction of the North Hall, the Kitchen might be expected to predate that structure. None the less (if the west window is integral and primary with the fabric), it does not appear to be a very early structure. Could it have been one of those buildings damaged or destroyed by the disastrous fire in the twelfth century and subsequently rebuilt by Bishop du Puiset? While any possible original function of guarding the early entrance had ceased, it still protected the south-west angle of the bailey and was well placed to serve the West hall as a Kitchen. As it stands the Tower is corner to corner with the hall. A covered way, perhaps through a

service or preparation room might be expected but the arrangements would suggest that if this existed it would now lie under the fourteenth century extension to the Great Hall. It is highly unlikely that this extension contained any domestic provision such as service rooms, given the fine and ostentatious windows that Bishop Hatfield (1345 - 1381) built into the south wall of his extension (Plate 22).

THE BUTTERY AND SERVERY

Some clues to the solution of this problem exist in the present Buttery and Servery buildings. I would suggest that the present Kitchen Tower was built in the late twelfth century and to its north the space was not filled leaving a small courtyard on the west overlooking the west defences, forming a sort of minor lower bailey. The north wall of the Kitchen below Buttery floor level, has been detailed in Chapter 1 (page 14). The evidence suggests that this wall was visible originally since some care was taken to give the wall a good appearance.

Possibly a covered way was made from the Kitchen Tower to the Great Hall and a new west door punched through the hall's west wall to give access to it. It should be noted that the west and east doors are slightly offset in alignment to each other as though built at different times (Plan H).

Some evidence for the earlier domestic arrangements exists at the south-west corner of the Great Hall. The eighteenth century plan of the castle (Plan C) shows a small, almost square building at this point with an internal dimension marked as thirteen square feet. Gee suggested that it had been built by Bishop Fox and seems to have thought that Hutchinson had identified this building as that constructed for the steward's apartments although there appears to be no particular grounds in the reference he gives (Gee 1928, 72, quoting Hutchinson 1785, ii 287 **not 368** which Gee gives). Hutchinson's remarks were based on Wood who clearly says that the service rooms and apartments were made out of the south end of the Great Hall.

He says of Fox:

> Out of a great vast hall in the castle there, he took as much away as made a fair buttery and a pantry...and on the wall which parted the said buttery from the hall, was a great pelican set up...(Hutchinson 1785, i 375 quoting Wood's Athenae Oxon, i. p. 665.)

The pelican is still there and clearly belongs with these extensive arrangement that he made for the hall; the little building on the south west corner seems to have another function. I suggest that it served as a Servery and preparation room after the construction of Bek's hall and prior to the extension of Hatfield. A covered way was perhaps constructed in the late thirteenth century but later perhaps it was felt that a more direct way of serving the hall was needed. A small room could be constructed on the south west corner and a hatch was broken through the masonry at this point. A filled in arch can still be seen on the Servery wall at this point, just above the later inserted stairs. It is difficult to see how this hatch would have served the Housekeeper's room which preceded the present Servery and I conclude that it is a survival from the earlier arrangements. Measuring its height relative to the floor in fact, it can be seen that the hatch would be just at waist level, or to put it another way, at the exact level that is most comfortable for passing trays or platters weighted with dishes etc. When Hatfield extended the Great Hall in the later fourteenth century he gave it a more direct access to the Kitchen. On the east wall of the Buttery in the present Catering Manager's office there is a large and tall fourteenth century arch which could have been broken though by Bishop Hatfield in order to give a straight through access to the Kitchen Tower. Bishop Fox thoroughly reconstructed the whole area including building new arrangements in the buttress on the west and these extensive changes, I suggest, removed the evidence in the Buttery for the previous covered way access to the hall.

THE GREAT HALL

The date of the construction of the first hall and the arrangements of the early accommodation at Durham present real problems. A very major difficulty is that we do not have a documented date for the construction of the Norman Undercroft on the west side of the courtyard or a date or function for the building supported on it. Laurence appears to refer to this and the building constructed on the north side of the courtyard as "..two great palaces adjoining..", and refers rather vaguely to rooms and chambers (ed. Raine 1880, 11).

In considering the development of the halls at Durham, West, East, and North Ranges must be considered together. The development of the hall in either range is dependent on or influenced by the development of its counterpart in the other range.
It is clear that the two halls are very different in morphology and design.

WEST HALL	NORTH HALL
Single unit, divided internally by single lateral division; the ground floor is an Undercroft	Unit separated into three parts by two horizontal divisions; the ground floor is not used
Construction of roughly dressed stone, in irregular courses	Construction of well dressed stone in clear courses
Ground floor arcade of semi-circular arches, differing in size.	Ground floor arcade of pointed arches, regular in size

The North Hall is obviously the more architecturally and spatially complex of the two. The cruder fabric and irregular elements would imply that the West hall is the earlier of the two and this also appears to be borne out by the archaeology. There does not appear to be the remains of an earlier hall structure beneath the North Range apart from the short stretch of foundation on a different alignment which was mentioned in Chapter 1 (Page 22). Instead there is the survival of the earthen bank which once defended this side of the peninsula. The West hall is reasonably in alignment with the East range which

appears from its archaeology to date back at least to the early twelfth century. If the evidence of the floor slab recovered in the courtyard excavation is related to the surviving floor in the Norman Chapel, it would suggest an equally early date for the East Range (Page 40). It is quite possible that both Ranges therefore date to the first phase of stone construction in the castle enclosure.

The construction of the Undercroft in the West Range is of the simplest kind with little monumental detail to indicate date. Some scholars have suggested very early dates and certainly not later than the late eleventh century (M. Biddle 1985 and P.J. Drury 1986, pers. comm.). Others however, have suggested a later date than this (R. Gem pers. comm. 1989).

While containing many phases of alteration the West hall's Undercroft clearly is of early construction. The south window/door (Plate 36), the rubble built construction (Elevation 10) and the single light windows with monolithic heads (Plates 34 and 35) all suggest a date of construction in the eleventh century. The measurements of the Undercroft based on the surviving arcade length, would give a hall measuring 28.34 metres by 10.36 metres. This is somewhat larger than the local comparison at Richmond castle where Scolland 's hall measures 17 metres by 7.92 metres but compares better with the hall at Chepstow castle which measures 27 metres by 7 metres. These two halls are dated by their monumental features to the eleventh century and may thus be used as comparisons for Durham (Plates 113, 114, and 115). Chepstow's masonry is rather better coursed and the basement has no openings. The upper level has monolithic splayed openings and at the west end, circular openings and blind arcading (Plate 113). The basement at Richmond also displays irregular coursing of the stonework; the openings are rectangular (Plate 114). The upper level windows are single internally but externally are divided by a single shaft (Plate 115).

A good parallel for the surviving features of the Durham Undercroft can be seen in the royal castle at Corfe in Dorset. Here the remains of the eleventh century hall building are constructed of very fine herringbone masonry but other features can be paralleled with Durham. Corfe also displays very similar single light monolithic

windows, deeply splayed into the wall (Plate 117) while at its end, where Durham has its simple arched opening, Corfe has a curious alcove feature with a similar simple semicircular rubble built arch (Plate 118). The hall at Corfe which measures 21.95m x 5.18m is dated by Kenyon to 1080 presumably on the grounds that Corfe was a royal castle of William I and that the hall was constructed shortly after the curtain wall was complete (Kenyon 1990, 111-12). He notes that there is not enough evidence surviving to state that the hall was at first floor level but the parallel with Durham would suggest that this was the case and that the surviving remains are those of the hall Undercroft.

The Corfe Undercroft has not been excavated so it is not known whether there is a central line of pillars supporting a dividing arcade as at Durham. A parallel for this appears in the Palace built for the Bishop of Winchester in Southwark, London in the twelfth century (Current Archaeology 28 1984, 232 - 233).

Here the excavations in 1984 which took place within the partially standing twelfth century hall showed that it had been divided down the centre by a stone foundation. At the south end there was a cross wall which divided off the service rooms, a feature also present at Corfe though not obvious at Durham. It was thought that the stone foundation at Southwark may have supported a dividing arcade such as that in the Durham Undercroft. Very similar short stone arcades can be seen on the ground floor of some of the larger keeps such as Dover or Bamburgh.

The present tunnel leading to the West Courtyard has an obvious horseshoe arch (Plate 31). The arches of the main arcade can also be said to have a slight horseshoe form (Elevation 11 and Plate 30). Gem has suggested that this indicates a construction date in the twelfth century (1989 pers. comm.). It should be pointed out, however, that both the chancel arch and north doorway of Odda's Chapel, Deerhurst, Gloucestershire, are horseshoe-shaped. This chapel is closely dated by inscription to 1053 - 1056 and would seem to belie the horseshoe arch/twelfth century equation (Taylor 1984, 739).

The larger arch and tunnel in the Durham Undercroft marks a division in the hall, although this may not be primary. It might cut off a part of the hall which might parallel the divisions at Corfe or Southwark. The objection to this is, perhaps, that it places the

service rooms at the opposite end of the hall to that where they were later placed. This would of course depend on how far back in date the present Kitchen/hall relationship can be taken.

The relationship of the south wall to the rest of the building was discussed in Chapter 1 (page 19). The west wall also exhibits some signs of rebuilding especially around the surviving blocked window opening. The insertion of the Students' Bar in 1967 and also of stairs up to the present Servery has obscured much of the detail at the south end of this wall. Elevation 10 is the central section of the wall where, as far is is known, the fabric is mostly original (Appendix H).

The rest of the west wall is mainly constructed of roughly dressed blocks laid in irregular courses and does not match the rubble construction of the south wall. Around the surviving blocked window there is some suggestion of the fabric having been altered - the top of the opening has been renewed very recently, probably in 1967 - which may account for the differences (Elevation 10). The construction of the west wall matches the fabric seen in the Norman Chapel (Elevations 22 and 23). The coursing and dressing is not good enough to match the ashlar work of the North Range which at its earliest might be expected to date to the episcopate of Bishop Flambard(1099 - 1128). A date prior to his episcopate and thus be suggested and Bishop Walcher (1071 - 1080) or Bishop St Calais (1080 - 1096) would seem reasonable candidates for this work.

The north wall of the Student Bar is almost entirely modern work apart from that part where the central arcade joins on to the larger arch over the West Courtyard Tunnel. A glance at the electrical installation plans of 1967 (which incorporates parts of earlier plans back to 1904) shows the arrangements prior to the insertion of the Students' Common Room (Plan K). The central arcade ran the length of the building and although the northern two arches are now filled in, it is certain that they were previously open.

The north end of the building is slightly different and present some problems in its construction. The 1967 plan shows that the east and west walls are of a different thickness at this point. The east wall has been doubled up at some date and the

thickening would appear to be along the length of the east wall from its junction with the north wall but not to the south of the larger tunnel arch (Plan K and Plate 131).

The other problem in the north Undercroft area is the two surviving arches of irregular curvature in the short arcade that is attached to the Northwest corner (Plates 32 & 130). Little attempt has been made to finsh these arches well. Either they are functional or they were covered by an overlay of plaster; the former seems more likely. They are probably relieving arches, strengthening the building where it passes close to the cliff. The southernmost of the two has been crudely broken through (Plate 130). Again the impression is given of a functional opening, bashed through without grace or favour.

The evidence suggests that the north end has been re-modelled at some point involving the construction of the larger tunnel arch, the thickening of the east wall, and the piercing through of the west arcade.

It is possible to separate the development of the Undercroft into at least three phases of building. The first would be represented by the south wall to which the rest of the building is added. While the reverse sequence can be suggested, the fine architectural detail of the arcade suggests an addition to the rather more crudely built wall with its simple arch. The opening in the south wall with its plain voussoirs and simple arch from points to a date in the eleventh century and would seem to be a surviving fragment from an earlier building.

The second phase would be represented by the surviving west wall i.e. the adding of the rest of the build to the south wall in the eleventh or twelfth century. The arcade was built at this time.

I would see the south wall as surviving from the days of Bishop Walcher (1071 - 1080) or earlier. It would represent the south wall of the original West Range. If the dates are pushed too late for this set of features there is a risk of squashing all the different phases of rebuilding into an improbably short space of time.

The building added to the surviving south wall and possibly also the addition of the first main arcade could be attributed to Bishop William St Calais (1080 - 1096).

An alternative to this sequence is to suggest that the south wall does indeed survive from the original Bishop's Palace and was the building burnt in 1069 as described by Symeon (discussed in chapter 6). Only the south wall might have been rescuable and the rest of the building together with the main arcade was rebuilt by Bishop Walcher in the next phase of the castle's construction. Without some archaeological exploration it is not possible to choose between these two possible sequences.

The rebuilding of the main arcade would explain the structural discontinuity seen at this point (Elevation 11). An examination of the three pads from which the arches spring reveals the centre one as the odd one out. Its construction shows good coursed and squared stone from the base. All three match in construction from the spring of the arch upwards. Either the central pad or the outer two has been rebuilt from the base. Such a general rebuilding could be the work of Bishop Du Puiset (1153 - 1195) in the wake of the twelfth century fire. Geoffrey of Coldingham says that Du Puiset rebuilt:-

> ...Those buildings in the castle of Durham which in the first times of his episcopate had been consumed by fire. (1839, 12)

It is not known where the fire actually started. The account given in Reginald (Chapter 2, page 62) is more concerned with recounting St Cuthbert's miracles than giving a blow by blow account. He does tell us, however, that the fire was fanned by a north wind. The presence of timber in the castle should also be taken into account. Higham has pointed out that even stone castles had much timber work within them while Armitage believed that the mural towers of early castles were constructed of timber (Higham 1989, 52 and Armitage 1912, 358). The "*propugnacula*" of Laurence is translated by Boyle as 'battlements' (page 58, line 381). Lewis and Short, however, give the translation of *propugnaculum* as 'bulwark, tower, rampart, fortress, defence' (1880, 1472). The reference could be to stone fronted towers with timber as the major part of construction . It also possible that the North Hall had a thatched roof. Little evidence for tile or slate

has been seen in the various archaeological investigations and it is possible that the early roofing material was of a less durable and more flammable kind.

The area north-east of the Castle seems an unlikely starting point for the fire. A north wind at this point would carry the fire along the bailey destroying the north gate but this does not seem to have been rebuilt until the days of Langley (1406 - 1437).

If the fire started on the north side, however, it should have been held off the castle by the north wall and towers. A north wind might carry sparks but would hardly "blow the fire in upon them" (Reginald 1835, 82-3). If Flambard's hall was constructed of timber or partly so, the fire might spread in this fashion.

The north-west corner is the point at which the castle comes closest to the "dwellings of the lower city". A raging fire at this point could be high enough to be driven back on the castle, driven by the north wind. Even today the river gorge acts as a funnel for wind. It is also possible that there was an intermedate structure here, between the outer wall and the west end of the North Range. This possibility has been discussed in the preceding chapters. If there was such a structure, it might provide the answer as to how the fire could climb the slope to the castle. An examination of the buildings suggests significant destruction of the west range and of the west end of the north range. This would be commensurate with a fire catching hold of the north-west corner and then being driven by a north wind.

The evidence of the Undercroft shows, I believe, that this building was largely rebuilt following the fire. The Undercroft was destroyed to basement level and possibly the Kitchen equally was so severely damaged that only total reconstruction would suffice.

THE NORTH RANGE

In 1986 building work to the west of the Norman chapel revealed demolition deposits of an early stone building and soil layers upon which the east end of the north hall had been founded (Leyland 1987 and Appendix N). These deposits had an eleventh century string course stone in them (Plate 138) and also pottery dated not later than the early twelfth

century at the very latest (Sue Mills, pers. comm.). Further west soil deposits below the twelfth century doorway on the Tunstall gallery produced a sculpted capital of the eleventh century, whilst a further local find of an eleventh century capital is also believed to have come from the Castle (Plates 81 and 82) These fragments are assumed to have come from the early accommodation, perhaps the East Range. The excavated material suggests a *terminus post quem* for the demolition of the buildings along the north side in the episcopate of Bishop Flambard (1099 - 1128) or later.

The central part of the North Hall divides into two parts, the upper and lower (Elevations 12 and 24). The lower part of the hall, excepting the relieving arches at its base, displays many features of the early twelfth century such as the close set barely projecting buttresses which Renn has suggested do not generally date later than 1120 (Renn 1960, 22). The lower third is of random rubble construction with occasional dressed stone up as far as the offset at first floor level (Elevation 14). Also at this level a short stretch of surviving string course is seen adjacent to the present Senior Common Room (Plate 68). It is decorated with shallow crude chevron of the sort that is generally dated to the first half of the twelfth century or earlier. This architectural evidence, together with the excavated material mentioned above would suggest Bishop Flambard (1099 - 1128) as the most likely candidate for the builder of the original North Hall.

From the Tunstall gallery level upwards, changes are seen. The stonework is almost entirely of well dressed and laid stone blocks (Plates 64 and 71). The doorway at first floor level is clearly of the late twelfth century, the capitals displaying figures and mitres (Elevations 16 and 17; Plates 55, 56, 57, and 58). The west wall externally displays a pair of magnificent insets rising from ground level to terminate at this level in pair of deep-chevron decorated windows.

The evidence would seem to confirm the hypothesis. Du Puiset's work is found exactly where it might be expected to be if the fire had performed as described above; extensively at the west end of the building, but in the rest of the building mainly on the upper floor.

Conventional thinking would suggest that the West hall was built by Walcher or St Calais and the North Hall rebuilt by Du Puiset after the destruction of the original by fire. Alternatively it can be suggested that Du Puiset built both the differences being caused by the building of one at the beginning of his episcopacy and the other, the North Hall, at the end. This however does some violence to the evidence of the architectural details.

The accepted dating raises many questions. As we have seen there is no real evidence, archaeological or historical, that Du Puiset rebuilt the entire building on the North from the foundations up and enough to suggest that he rebuilt onto a more extensive shell.

The date of the rebuilding

Dating the lower half of the hall to the primary period i.e. Bishop Flambard, however, is assisted by comparative examples of chevron at the chapel in Newcastle keep (Plate 142). Here, shallow cut, close set chevron similar to that on the Cathedral Chapter House, and Gatehouse (Plates 7 &10), is used on the chapel arches. The supporting capitals are decorated with waterleaf ornament, the whole ensemble dating to between 1168 and 1178 (Halsey 1980 68-9). If the surviving Durham string course (Plate 68) is contemporary with the Newcastle work it would suggest an alternative post fire development with du Puiset demolishing the North Range to the top of the ground floor level i.e. just above the top of the old earth bank. I would disagree with this interpretation because the chevron on the string course is much cruder in form that the work at Newcastle and implies an earlier date of origin. Also, if du Puiset was imitating the king's work at Newcastle it seems odd that the decorative scheme was only employed in the string course and not extended to the more prominent gallery triplets or the great entrance doorway which were of very different work (Plates 55 & 64). The gallery arches were decorated with deep cut chevron of a type supposed to date to the late twelfth century. The gallery capitals are not decorated with waterleaf but are scalloped.

The date of du Puiset's rebuilding and of the great door on the south side of the north range is not mentioned in either of the accounts given by Reginald, (1835, 32), or Geoffrey of Coldingham,(1839, 12) and there is no contemporary source for it. The rebuilding, as well as the date of the door is traditionally given as 1174, a date mentioned by both Lambert (1796, 3) and Hutchinson,(1785, I 181) although Hutchinson gives no authority for this date and Lambert probably quotes Hutchinson.

The date of 1174 is that favoured by most historians and writers; e.g. Mackenzie, and Fordyce. It is probable that all these writers followed Hutchinson's original statement. The latest date given is that of W.H. Longstaffe (1862,-8 3-4), who saw the great door as one of Pudsey's last works and late in style. However, it should be remembered that by 1186 Du Puiset was already building in Grindon Church in Early English Transitional style and Darlington Hospital and Auckland Palace chapel which followed it were likewise in the new architectural form (Plates 128 and 129). Renn suggests as a rule of thumb that it would take one year to lay a ten foot height of wall plus one year for the foundations (Renn 1960, 2). If Du Puiset's work was mainly that of rebuilding in the sense of restoration the new work could have put up quite quickly. If, however, the door was separately fashioned elsewhere and left until last, this could explain both the discontinuity of coursing seen at the door sides (Elevation 16) and the fact that the general style of the hall is of the 1160's and 1170's but the door perhaps of the 1180's and hence "late in style". This dating may be challenged on the grounds that it is possible to see a clear development in du Puiset's architectural style (see architectural discussion on pages x to xi). The development in du Puiset's architectural style would seem to place the North Hall very early in his episcopate.

One of the major subjects of this enquiry must be how far Du Puiset made new arrangements of accommodation in his rebuilt hall and how he far was constrained by surviving masonry from Flambard's previous building.

The original form of the building

It has been shown that Flambard's hall substantially survives in the lower half of the existing North Hall. The picture has been coloured by the statement of William de Chambre that: "...he [Hatfield] rebuilt the Episcopal hall and the Constable's hall.." (1839, 138).

A later historian stated that this referred to the North Hall having two floors and therefore two halls. The upper hall would be represented by the Norman Gallery and the lower hall surviving as a fragment in the shape of the large Common Room. Later writers seem to have repeated this statement without any serious examination and it must be asked how far it actually reflects the evidence in the standing structure. Readers may like to refresh their memories by re-reading the description of the North Hall in Chapter 1. Throughout the following discussion reference should be made to Elevations 12, 13, 24, and 25.

One very important clue survives, as such evidence often does, in full view of the public tour route but few have ever noted it. It is a moulded corbel on the string course at the level of the Norman gallery (Plate 67). It decorated with shallow chevron and there is an outside chance that it might be re-used from the remnants of Flambard's hall. Closer examination of the string course reveals a brutal redressing along the entire length, the surviving moulded stone being the only piece to have escaped attention. The rest of the course has been hacked back to match the wall face. The decorated string must once have run the full length of the building. It importance lies in its position. It is close to the floor and in its present position it is not possible to see the decoration without getting down on hands and knees. This is why it has been generally overlooked. Clearly it was not meant to be seen in this position and the implication is that this piece was made at a time when the present floor level did not exist and the piece could be seen from the floor below looking up. In other words when there was an open hall space in the centre of the building.

This would alter our present concept of the hall and suggests that in the past it had a vertical division rather than the present horizontal one. The arrangements can be suggested as follows (see Elevation 25).

On the west, a vertical stack of rooms, as at present, with the Chaplain's Suite forming one apartment. The top level would be represented by the Norman gallery level; the scar on the wall at this level has already been alluded in Chapter 1 and would represent the cut-off point for the east wall of this apartment (Plate 53).

The central part of the hall would run from this missing wall as far as the surviving Romanesque door at the east end of the Norman Gallery (Plan M and Plate 65). The central part would be an open hall from the first floor up as far as the roof. There would a set of windows at first floor level (those now concealed in the Senior Common Room) and above, a clerestory set now represented by the surviving Norman Gallery triplets (Plates 63 and 64).

The east end of the hall would be another stack of rooms echoing the west end in having two apartments but at this end the evidence is less clear. There must have been an apartment at the level of the present Judges' Kitchen which would echo the level of the Chaplain's Suite at the west end. The evidence is obscured by the later Octagon suite arrangements; clearly it would be in this area. At Norman Gallery level, given the very ornate door that opens onto the Gallery, it can be assumed that the Lord's Chamber was at this level and the east end of the hall was divided into his apartments. The scar on the hood moulding of this door shows the partition for the apartments at this end of the hall (Plate 66). The well found in the north wall and spoken of on page 31 would represent the water supply to this level and fall within the same apartments. Externally at the base of the wall on the north side adjacent to this point the exit of a garderobe is seen (Elevation 13). The Bishop therefore, could leave his hall from the east end and ascend to his apartment up a private stair to apartments which had every convenience that the twelfth century could supply.

The form of the entrance to the hall is not explicit in the surviving evidence. Most scholars have assumed that the approach was direct with a staircase rising from the

courtyard level, covered by a roof but open at the sides. This idea, however, is partly based on Gee's remarks about the paving discovered in the courtyard. It has also been assumed that the weathering which appears on the sides and lower part of the door, but not at the top, was due to the open sides of the staircase. This idea was reassessed during the recent conservation work and it was concluded that the weathering pattern was more probably due to the rapid heating and cooling effect of the sunlight . This is projected onto the door through the large sixteenth century window of Bishop Tunstall in an arc which would give exactly the weathering pattern described. The approach to first floor buildings in castles generally had two options; through a right angle by way of a fore building, or the direct approach with an open or covered stair. Examples of the former can be cited from Newcastle, Castle Rising, Rochester, Castle Hedingham, and on the continent at Falaise, and so forth (Plate 121). According to M. Jacques le Maho the approach to the first floor entrance of the hall at Saint Georges de Boscherville was constructed in precisely this manner (see Plate 123) (pers. comm. 1989). Durham has something of the local Normandy tradition as is evidenced by the echoes of the North Hall doorway in the west doorway of St Georges de Boscherville church (Plates 119 and 120) The direct approach was presumably used in the predecessor of the present approach to the thirteenth century great hall at Durham. Another surviving direct approach, that at Ludlow, is also to a thirteenth century hall (Plate 122). It should be noted, however, that at Castle Hedingham (Plate 121) the original twelfth century approach is also thought to have been direct (see argument on Hedingham below) A direct stair approach of Romanesque date from Canterbury (now destroyed) is illustrated by Ruprich-Robert (Plate 124) but this is a monastic building within a monastic enclosure and is not therefore a good parallel. It may well be that in the more military or uncertain atmosphere of the twelfth century the hall entrance at Durham would have been constructed in the more defensible, i.e. right angle, manner. Entrances could be altered, however, and the evidence from Castle Hedingham not only demonstrates this but prompts a different reconstruction for the North Hall at Durham.

Castle Hedingham castle in Essex was built for the de Vere family around 1140 (Dixon and Marshall 1993a, 21-22). The visible standing remains are those of a great tower which has been labelled in the past as a"keep" and as "defensive" (thus Renn 1968, 202; Hamilton-Thompson 1912, 131). A recent re-examination of the structure has caused Dixon and Marshall to suggest a different interpretation (Fortress vol. 18, 1993, 16-23). They have suggested that this is a three storey structure containg two grand chambers over a basement. The two chambers are both halls and there is no accomodation in the form of bedchambers; the mural chambers are seen as storage rooms (Plate 171). The lower hall is perhaps a reception room for a comitial official and the upper hall an audience hall for the Earl proper. They suggest that the original entrance was a straight flight of steps up to the door at first floor level, the present forebuilding and right-angled approach being a later re-modelling. The whole effect was ceremonial and showy and not even necessarily defensive.

This interpretation has implications for the North Hall at Durham. It is also possible to suggest a different interpretation from the one given above. At this point Elevation 26 may be referred to.

The hall at Durham may also have been divided horizontally. At the west end would be the vertical stack of chambers; given the structural evidence this would hold true for both interpretations. The rest of the building's length would be horizontally divided with an upper and lower hall. The visitor would thus come in the courtyard under Flambard's gate and look across to a straight flight of stairs leading to the magnificent doorway created by du Puiset. He would then enter by way of this doorway the lower hall roomy but relatively plain. There would be the four windows on the south wall (now hidden behind the paintings - Plate 59) and perhaps a corresponding set on the north. There would be the decorated string course of Flambard's time of which a fragment remains (Plate 68). Here he would received by the Bishop's official, perhaps the constable whose apartments may have been at the west end within the present Chaplain's Suite. When the visitor's time for audience came he would be conducted up the larger spiral stair which still survives (Plate 50) and into the richly decorated upper

hall. The Bishop's apartments would be at the west end screened off by the partition wall whose scar is still seen today (Plate 53). The dais and throne would perhaps be placed in front of this. This visitor would make his way up the hall having ample time to admire the rich ornament and grace of the window triplets as he advanced.

This seems a very satisfying image and in accord with the evidence. There are problems with it. There is still the problem of the decorated string course, so close to the floor (Plate 67). It might just be visible as the visitor advanced but still seems in an odd position. On seeing the window triplets people's immediate impression is that they were constructed as seats. The truth is better that they can be sat in -they may not have been constructed for this purpose. They are comfortable now, but restore the damaged string course to its full length and they begin to look much less so. There is the problem of the door by which the putative visitor enters (Plate 65). It is richly decorated but on the north side. The south side, from which the visitor approaches is quite plain. Coming through the door from the stair the first thing one would see would not be the ornament but the Bishop waiting at the far end of the hall. The visitor would be unlikely to notice the decoration until he left which seems a little odd. The final problem is at the west end of the hall. Although there is a connecting stair for the chamber stack at this end it is the smallest and narrowest of the stairs in the North Range (Plate 133). Having inserted the large newel for the Bishop's visitors at the east end, one might expect a correspondingly good stair to be built for the private apartments or at least, one that is comfortable to use.

The Chaplain's Suite below the Bishop's apartments were connected with the highly decorated passage in the north-west tower (Plate 52). Plainer than the Bishop's apartments, but still very ornamented these rooms might be for guests. Having impressed them with the great doorway and the large newel at the east end, it seems somewhat of a letdown to expect them to use the narrow difficult newel at the southwest corner. Could there have been another stair at this corner? There was clearly something in this area as evidenced by the surviving fragment visible in the wall at the base of the building (Plate 40). There is also the early fabric surviving to first floor level at the end

of the West hall (Plate 41). A door exits from the south-west newel at this point (Plan A and Plates 47 and 48) and above on the Norman Gallery level a much hacked about but possibly early door exits to the same area (Plate 71). All this evidence suggests that there might have been another stair in the angle between the two buildings. This arrangment of two stairs, a wide one for visitors and a narrow one for "other ranks" is seen at the east end of the building and may have been reflected at the west end.

It can be suggested that du Puiset attempted to relate the Hall and the Gate by the use of certain perspectives. If the Hall had a direct approach, it would have been obscured behind the East Range which was probably still standing (page 41 and Appendix L). If, however, the Hall had a right-angle approach from the left, the Gate would have pointed directly at it. The paving found by Gee in 1904 is also in this area but this may be a coincidence. It might also be pointed out that if one stands on the Norman Gallery, directly above the Hall entrance, and looks back at the Gatehouse, the central tower of the Cathedral appears directly above the central tower of the Gatehouse. This could of course be a coincidence but it is hard to escape the impression that this is a deliberate design. It should be noted that if the Hall was divided vertically with a central open space, as first suggested, this viewpoint would not be possible.

The impulse for Flambard's building campaign on the North Hall is not hard to guess. The new hall at Westminster Palace built for William Rufus was the largest hall in England and one of the largest in Europe (James 1990, 35 - 37). Table Ten in Appendix E puts the various halls at Durham into perspective. Westminster was a hall of twelve bays with windows on the north and south sides set in an arcaded gallery. The windows were set in arcaded triplets - central large windows and to either side half height arches (Plate 125). Rufus' hall also had external buttresses marking the bays and chequered stonework for decoration. While Flambard's hall did not go quite that far, he was Rufus' chamberlain and might well have sought to imitate his master, albeit on a lower scale, at Durham. Later in the twelfth century De Vere began a new clerestoried hall at Hereford (James 1990, 60) which Blair considers the precursor in a fashion for magnificent halls in other Episcopal palaces and of course, the De Vere family were also the builders of the

double hall tower at Hedingham (Blair 1987, 63; Dixon and Marshall 1993, 22). James points out that Robert de Chesney had built a palace at Lincoln slightly earlier and this was in the tradition of "Pudsey at Durham"(sic). Two interesting things arise out of this comparison. De Chesney's dates (1148 - 1166) are just a little too early for Du Puiset whose work on the North Range would not be finished until the 1170's. De Chesney, therefore, might have been influenced by Flambard's hall just before it burnt down, but might have improved on the original design, using the ideas that had developed in the intervening fifty years. De Chesney's hall is described by James as consisting of an upper and lower hall (James 1990, 61). Given the idea of Durham suggested above, this of course makes the comparison more apposite, but care is needed. As has been demonstrated there are problems in suggesting the hall at Durham was a double hall in this sense. In the Buck drawing of Lincoln the arrangement of windows is far more conducive to suggesting this arrangement than the depiction of the windows in similar early drawings of Durham which suggest a single hall with an upper clerestory of lighting (James 1990, 62 ; Plates 96 and 97). Du Puiset's hall has obvious morphological parallels with Westminster and may have been copied directly from the monument. The possibility must also be considered that it was an improvement or an aggrandisement of a simpler Flambard original.

The Outer Towers

There remain three main areas of discussion in the North Range; the towers on the north and north-west, 'King John's Tower', and the pointed relieving arches at the base of the North Hall's south wall.

The evidence for the construction of works on the north-west and north side has been alluded to in the discussion of the visual record in chapter 4 (page 86). The surviving exit at the north end of the West Courtyard (Plate 37), and the implied exit from King John's Tower at first floor level (page 25), both suggest some outer work attached to the castle at this point. The visual record seems to suggest that remains were still visible in the eighteenth century (e.g. Plates 103 and 107). The discontinuity in the

North Hall underlines the problem of exactly why the building kinks or bends slightly at this point.

The answer as to the origins of a construction on the west side seem to lie in remarks made by Hutchinson but not, as far as I know, followed up by any later student of the castle. In the second volume of his history he makes a rather confusing aside (1785, 284). He says of the city defences that the side:

> ...opposite to Framwellgate bridge was strengthened with bastions and towers. On this side several towers yet remain.

Taken by itself this reference may indicate the Elvet Bridge side of the river but could also mean the castle side of Framwellgate bridge. Bok in his drawing shows the wall punctuated by several square towers and bastions on the Elvet Bridge side but the north-west side cannot be seen from his perspective (Plate 92). Even at the present day remnants of these towers can be seen on the east side of the city. Although the early sources refer to Flambard's strengthening of the city with walls none specifically makes reference to the construction of towers on the north-west side, i.e. the neck of the peninsula. Thus Hutchinson's witness to the towers and the visual record (Plates 103 and 107) is at present the only evidence for their existence.

In a later passage, he says:

> When Framwellgate Bridge was built by Flambard in the opening of the twelfth century he carried on a strong wall between the castle and the church and it is probable that he built the last mentioned towers to command the pass. The Bridge also had a strong gateway and tower.
> Building this bridge necessarily occasioned a passage to be made from thence into the borough; and on that account Bishop Flambard strengthened that side of the castle between the bridge and the north gate before spoken, with a moat which from the example before given was undoubtedly fortified with round towers and bastions.

This paragraph raises several points. The bridge referred to throughout is certainly Framwellgate bridge. The "example before given" was almost certainly the surviving round bastion tower below the keep and just west of Saddler *street* (Plate 87). The D-shaped tower may be supposed to be on the line of Flambard's defences. Gee describes the defences without giving any reference for his evidence including:

> square and octagonal flanking towers and round the sharp southern bend...a series of buttress turrets between the greater towers...

This would seem to be related to the defences on the east side (see Plan R). Jones in his article on the city walls refers to Flambard's towers and says that the map by T. Foster (sic) depicts them (Jones 1920, 241-246; see Plate 99). On the map at this point (the north neck of the peninsula) three square projections are depicted. They are open backed but at the small scale of the map's vignette it is not clear whether these are open backed towers or ruined remnants. There is also the other visual evidence to consider. A number of drawings alluded to above clearly show the remains of masonry or a construction of some size in this area (Plates 91, 103, and 107). By the eighteenth century it had almost gone but so had much of the city defences. The same century saw the destruction of the gate tower on Framwellgate bridge and probably the Water Gate also at the south end of the Bailey.

Taking all this evidence into account I propose a further possible addition to these defences - a construction on the North-west corner of the North Range. This would be defensive; below the North range but above the gate tower on the bridge and serve to further protect the all important ingress into the borough and city (Phase Plan VI).

The door at the north end of the West Courtyard (Plate 37) would thus exit to this structure; a way could also lead from this tower into the castle by way of the North-west Tower. The narrow passage at the level of the present Chaplain's Suite could have been a way in - hence the decoration on the arches which would be seen as you entered

from the western tower below. It would still none the less have been narrow enough to provide a further defence if an enemy gained the western tower by only allowing single file entry at this point. It might also supply part of the answer to why the west end of the North Hall kinked in the way it did. After the fire when they came to rebuild the west end of the hall Du Puiset may have decided to add the lower western defence to the castle and the end of the building may have had to be re-aligned slightly to take account of the new arrangement. If the construction had been Flambard's the hall should have met it on a cleaner line. The decoration on the arches in the north-west tower is also late twelfth century - of Du Puiset's time (Plate 52) and it is known that he was responsible for other reorganisations and strengthening of the defences (Geoffrey of Coldingham 1839, 12). Further than this it is not possible to go at this time and the foregoing has merely been an attempt to suggest some ideas that take in all the facts. It must be countered that the decoration on the arches of the Chaplain's Suite bathroom (Plate 52) may simply have been a device to impress those guests quartered in this suite and that there was not in fact, any passage to the outside at all. The evidence none the less strongly suggests that there was a major construction just below the north hall on the north-west corner - clarification of this matter must wait for future exploration.

The North-west Tower

The North-west Tower itself must also be examined at this point in an attempt to determine what the original date of construction might be.

Externally the tower is of six stages, otherwise very plain having two monumental features that might suggest a date (Plate 46). That is the openings in the room at Norman Gallery level, opening west and east respectively. That on the west is a single light window with a restored slightly trefoiled arch. On the east the opening is a double light window with pointed arches. The head of this window has also been renewed and one is put in mind of the monolithic double-arched window head that has been rebuilt

into the masonry beneath the Senate Room floor (Leyland 1987 Plate 4 in that volume). The lower three stages enclose the Chaplain's bathroom with its Romanesque vaulting (Plate 52).

King John held the castle from the death of Philip de Poitiers in 1208 to the inception of the episcopacy of Richard de Marisco in 1217. In the Pipe Roll for the thirteenth year of King John and dated 1213 it recorded that;

> in work done at the castle and houses of the castle of Durham and at one portcullis and one bar garriz. £18. 5. 0." (Pipe Roll 13 John, 39

The Pipe Roll for the fourteenth year of King John and dated to 1213 further notes:

> in repairing the castle and houses at Durham £13.3.3½d by writ of the King. (Pipe Roll 14 John, 47)

These are the entries generally supposed to refer to the rebuilding of the north-west tower by John, presumably because the tower appeared thirteenth century in the upper part and earlier writers could see little else to ascribe to him.. It is assumed that the movement of the foundations of the North Hall had already begun in John's time and that the reason the tower clasps the north west corner like a buttress is that it helps to support it. Gee supposed that John had built the entire tower (Gee 1928, 65 & 77). He noted what he called "traces" of Du Puiset's work and that the top of an opening with a round-headed arch was visible at ground level on the east side. He does not describe the late twelfth century decoration of the ribbing arches in the tower passage. The opening seen at ground level has now disappeared and is it possible that the tower has been re-faced at some point and that the ground level around its base has risen. The evidence as it survives clearly points to the lower part of the tower being of Du Puiset's day and King John's work being confined to the upper storeys. Thus the question must be asked was there any other work of repair that might be dated to this period?

The date of construction of the relieving arches at the base of the south wall of the North Hall has not been examined by past writers. This is not mentioned by any early source but since they run the length of the building including the kink, it is assumed that they must date after the rebuilding by Bishop Du Puiset. Their function would seem to be to underpin the south wall; although competently made, they lack the uniformity and elegance one might expect from a displayed feature (Plate 45 and Elevation 14). It is likely that they were hidden behind a plaster veneer or wash traces of which can be seen still clinging to the stonework on other parts of this wall. It is possible that they were constructed as part of the rebuild; the kink after all may have simply been a mistake of alignment that was not noticed until too late. This suggestion however would suggest that Du Puiset rebuilt the south wall or inserted the arches after the fire as strengthening. 1170 seems a little early, although not impossible for this type of arch; pointed arches of better elegance can be seen at Orford Castle which was built by Henry II between 1165 and 1173 (Renn 1968, 271). Objections can be raised to this dating, however. If Du Puiset's architects and engineers realised the strengthening superiority of the pointed arch, why not employ it to some effect in the Galilee chapel which also had severe engineering problems due to its precarious position on the edge of a cliff? All other monumental arch work of Du Puiset's period in the castle is of the round-headed type. A close examination of the arches reveals that they all have some kind of irregularity in construction at approximately the same height (Elevation 14). The impression is that the tops of the arches have been rebuilt. The moulding of the arch imposts is early and a date in the twelfth century would seem likely (Richard Stone pers. comm. 1993). The arches may therefore have been originally constructed/inserted by Du Puiset to strengthen the south wall after the fire. There is another possible candidate for the work of rebuilding the arch tops whose dates would seem more realistic for this form.

Bishop Hatfield (1345 - 1381) certainly carried out a number of building works in the Castle (De Chambre 1839, 138). He may have attached the angle towers to the north side of the North Range and certainly rebuilt the Keep in stone. The south wall has always had a problem with movement because of the underlying clay/sand deposits into

which it is sat. By Hatfield's day the superiority of the pointed arch was clearly recognised and it may have been felt apposite to renew the arcade in the stronger form.

The Chapel and Junction range in the past

It was suggested in my previous work that the Norman Chapel dated to around 1080 and that the Bishop William St Calais was responsible for its construction (Leyland 1987 33). That conclusion must be examined in the light of the excavation of the Heating Trench in the courtyard in 1991 (DC 91 A; see Appendix L) and the evidence recovered from it.

The finds of the excavation implied that the East Range was contemporary in construction with the Norman chapel and it might also be suggested that the same gang of masons was responsible (Pages 39-40). The Chapel appears originally to stand by itself against a dogleg in the north curtain wall. I previously suggested that because of this fact, it made more sense if the long building to the immediate south and adjacent to the Chapel was attached after the initial construction of the chapel (Leyland 1987 25). The addition of the Chapel Lodgings would therefore seem to be after the completion of the Chapel and presumably the East Range. From the architectural detail of the south wall it has been suggested Bishop Walcher built the original West Range. The West range is clearly in alignment with the East Range and therefore these two might thus be contemporary, part of an extensive primary building campaign in the first period. The archaeological deposits excavated in 1986 to the west of the Norman Chapel and beneath the Senate room Lobby imply that it was Bishop Flambard (1099 - 1128) who demolished the west end of the Chapel Lodgings and therefore might seem unlikely to be its builder (Appendix N).

Thus it would appear that the Chapel was in fact the work of Bishop Walcher but the exact date remains uncertain. The evidence of the north wall shows clearly that the chapel is an addition to the early defence and not built as one with it. Two possible periods of construction can be suggested.

1. The Chapel was constructed between 1072 - 1075 and the difference in construction between the north wall and the rest of the building is because the wall was constructed by one gang of builders but the chapel was the work of more experienced masons.

2. The Chapel was constructed 1075 - 1080. Walcher's early years must have been largely spent in strengthening his position and creating a "castle" i.e. a defended residence. In 1075 there was a Danish invasion and Lanfranc wrote to Walcher telling him to prepare for attack. After the initial consolidation was complete and the initial threat controlled, he was free to build the accommodation and the Chapel. The building break thus arises because the building is built on to an existing defensive wall that had been constructed some years previously.

While either date might be correct I feel more comfortable with the second. Symeon tells us that the castle was built "to keep the Bishop and his household safe from the attacks of assailants" (1885, 199-200).

It seems to me reasonable to suppose that the first period would directed towards this primary aim and the domestic arrangements might well take the secondary role being constructed in the latter half of Walcher's episcopate.

It could be suggested that Bishop Walcher built the Chapel early in his episcopacy and the Chapel Lodgings late, in order to provide extra accommodation. Why did Walcher not make use of the north and north-west areas which appear to have no constructions on them at this time and would obviate the necessity of cutting off a direct access to the chapel. The evidence of the foundation at the north-west corner suggests that there were some constructions along the north side but the survival of the earth bank within the North Hall suggests that this area was still free of construction. It is possible that Walcher wished to preserve the defensive earthwork on the north side of the enclosure but since he must already have removed it elsewhere in order to build foundations (e.g. the Chapel), this seems unlikely. This implies that the Chapel Lodgings

was deliberately placed adjacent to the Chapel by someone who wanted access from the accommodation directly to the Chapel.

The Bishop who succeeded Walcher to the See was William St Calais (1080 - 1096) and it is known that before Durham he was the Abbot of the monastery of St Vincent in Normandy (Symeon 1882 119). The Chapel Lodgings could have been made by St. Calais with accommodation adjacent so that access could be made to the chapel at all times of the day and night. William, after all, was under monastic vows and may have made this arrangement purely for himself.

St Calais may have added the Chapel Lodgings to the Chapel building and possibly the splendid garderobe that adjoins the Chapel Lodgings on its south side. Whether there was any provision to link the Chapel Lodgings and the garderobe to the east Range is at present unknown - the pipe trenches shown on the 1904 plan do not quite extend far enough.

The present archaeological evidence is not specific enough to choose between Bishops Walcher (1071 - 1080) or St Calais (1080 - 1096) as the builder of the Norman Chapel. According to a recent study by Dr. Eric Cambridge, stylistically the Chapel strongly suggests the work of St Calais (1994, forthcoming). The problem here is the addition of the small accomodation block which is immediately adjacent to the south of the building. It seems slightly odd for St Calais to go to so much trouble over his chapel and then dump a rather ordinary accomodation block right in front of it. Not only does it prevent the chapel from being seen; it makes access to it that much more difficult.

It should be pointed out that the archaeological evidence does not answer the question as to whether the Chapel was single or double storey to begin with. With the addition of the Chapel Lodgings a stairway was created from the first floor of this accomodation block down to the ground floor of the Chapel. The access from the upper floor of the Chapel to the upper floor of the accomodation block is a very narrow plain door and there is no structural evidence of a larger or grander entrance in the past. The whole arrangement suggests that at this period, whether the Chapel building was two

storey or not, the focus of attention appears to have been the ground floor i.e. what is still thought of as the "Norman Chapel".

This arrangement suggests that the Chapel was originally on the ground floor and that the building as a whole may only have been single storey. Even after the construction of the building to the south the adjacent stairs suggest that the focus of interest was still on the ground floor. The present archaeological survivals at the west end of the Chapel and under the lobby floor imply that the Chapel was relocated to the first floor after the construction of the North Hall. If the chapel had an upper floor to begin with, whose original access was destroyed, it is not clear what its function might have been. It is believed to be rare for a secular room to be placed over a chapel although a local example is known at Richmond Castle and the rule may not be hard and fast (Wood 1965, 228). It has been suggested that this was a double chapel and the present Norman chapel was in fact a crypt, built to house an important relic that was not actually gained (M. Thompson. pers. comm. 1993). Apart from the problem of access to the upper chamber, none of the early chroniclers mention any relics, let alone important ones. It seems unlikely, however, that the surviving Chapel would have been originally so ornate if there were another (presumably more highly ranking) Chapel above, although crypts could be and were lavish, as at Canterbury.

Double Chapels, one over the other are known in Germany, modelled on the Chapel at Aachen built by Charlemagne. Clapham says that Aachen was so impressive that it continued to be copied long after its first construction (1936, 11). Examples are Ottmarsheim built in the second quarter of the eleventh century and Neuweiler c. 1160. Other, less direct copies are known - Nurnberg, Mainz, Laon in France and Ledojë in Denmark (Drinkwater 1954, 130). The English paradigm is the Episcopal chapel at the Palace of Hereford constructed by Bishop Robert of Lorraine in the eleventh century (Drinkwater 1954, 129 - 137). The first two German examples noted above are suggested by Drinkwater as examples that Robert of Lorraine could have known about personally. It also might be noted that Walcher was from Lorraine. Gem notes that Durham's Chapel is axially arranged rather than centralised and suggests that it can be

better paralleled at Laval in Maine, rather than Germany, although he does believe that it was two storied (Gem 1981, 87 - 96). Indeed I drew the same parallel in my study of the Durham Chapel (Plate 76 and Leyland 1987, 31).

It is therefore suggested that the Chapel was either a single or double storey building standing by itself in the enclosure with the Castle Chapel located on the ground floor. When Flambard built the North Hall and relocated the accommodation it must have been thought desirable to elevate the Chapel to the first floor. The ground floor of the North Hall was not in use and the Chapel Lodgings made direct access to the ground floor chapel difficult. It would have been simple to raise the chapel building by one storey and thus create a walk-through access from the hall level. While this did give the bishops a direct access to their Chapel it also left them with an oddly kinked approach that is still echoed today in the entry between the Senate Room Lobby and the Senate Suite itself.

This relationship of the buildings with its entrance through the south-west corner is echoed elsewhere in France at the hall of St Georges de Boscherville. Longstaffe drew parallels between the Chapel at Durham and the church at Boscherville. Certainly there are echoes of Du Puiset's grand doorway in the ornate west door to the church (Plates 118 and 119) but the decorative details can also be paralleled elsewhere in Normandy (Plate 120) The hall was excavated after Longstaffe's time and he was therefore unaware of the hall parallel (Longstaffe 1879, 73-79). I am grateful to M. Jacques le Maho for this information. The arrangement in the hall at Boscherville is remarkable similar to Durham with the Chamber at the east end of the hall and the Chapel is attached to it leaving the access through the south-west corner (Plate 123). This off-centre access is also seen in England at Old Soar Manor where the access is at the south-east corner of the hall although in this instance it seems to have built in this odd way (Wood 1965, 69) another example might be cited from Berkeley Castle where the chapel is built against a short but angled piece of curtain wall leaving it at an angle to the castle hall. (Hamilton-Thompson 1928, 186). Here though, the entrance is through a vestibule with a south west approach but serves to illustrate that there was no hard and fast rule about the correctness of the approach to a chapel in this context.

The Junction Buildings

In their present form the Junction buildings have window openings that echo the style of Tunstall or Cosin. Clearly the visual evidence from the paintings of the 1700s shows that there were no buildings present in this position at that time. The evidence of Laurence says:

> But a bridge emerging affords ready and easy steps of ascent
> from the house to the battlements.
> And when they came thither a broad way
> goes round the heights of the wall
> and in this way the mound of the citadel is frequently gone round.
> But the pleasant citadel displays a round form;
> by art, beauty, and situation it is strong, pleasant and agreeable.
> From hence a bridge that looks down into the castle
> and the bridge is wont to afford access to and fro;
> For it is wide and proceeds by little steps;
> neither does it descend rapidly
> but makes for the bottom at a distance.
> But near it the wall descends from the citadel
> bending its face towards the west even to the river.
>
> (Lines 381 - 392)

This suggests a simple walk or stair ascending to the level of the battlements and the Keep entrance. The visual evidence of the grisaille painting and the Buck drawing of 1728 show a narrow north-Chapel Lodgings rather like a gallery with a pitched roof, built on to the east end of the Chapel building; the present Senate bedroom is now housed in this area (Plates 96 and 97). Evidence seen in 1986 (Plate 140) shows an exit from the east end of the Chapel building at this level and is echoed in the position of the modern entrance to the bedroom. The Buckler painting shows a possible fragment of wall walk surviving behind this building (Plate 108).

Although extensive changes were made in Bishop Butler's day, the changes detailed in his accounts does not include the construction of these buildings nor are they even alluded to. Hutchinson is the historian of this period but does not describe the construction of the Junction; in his description of Bishop Trevor (1752 - 1771) he dwells

on the Bishop's death and tell us little else. His book terminates with the inception of the episcopacy of Bishop Egerton (1771 - 1796). Gee believed that Egerton refitted the Senate Rooms to which these buildings attach but cites no real evidence for his claim (Gee 1928, 89). On the eighteenth century plan (Plan C) the older arrangement is shown with no buildings present in this area. Similarly, in the drawing of the courtyard by Buckler in the early nineteenth century the Chapel is shown much as Buck depicted it, with the gallery at the east end and the space between that and the ruined Keep is vacant (Plate 108).

All this evidence would seem to suggest that despite their older appearance this is a case of clever restoration by Antony Salvin. This would appear to be borne out by Fordyce who describes the Junction as:

> The new building which...forms the connecting link between the old part of the castle and the restored Keep. (1857, 289)

The Courtyard in the past

The original entrance to the Castle would seem to have been elsewhere than the present position (pages 40 and 96). If the entrance was further to the west, a logical approach to the buildings is gained. One would enter on a straighter approach with the West and East ranges on the right and left and the Chapel slightly over to the right.

The rebuilding of the North Hall would cause problems unless Flambard's entrance was at the west end. Firstly the old approach would be left pointing at the west end of the hall building and away from the entrance. There is reason to think that this is why the Gate was repositioned. It points at the Romanesque doorway which is towards the east end. The door as it survives is of the late twelfth century so presumably the gate which is clearly earlier was pointing at a predecessor. However, the East Range would now partly block the gate and thus would have to be demolished.

The archaeological deposits in and overlying the robbing are datable to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. So are the deposits on the west side of the wall

(Elevation 24). Hatfield may have robbed the wall and utilised it as a cheap and nearby source of stone for his new Keep building. The wall might actually have been demolished years before. One could equally suggest that the building stood until Hatfield's day and was demolished and hence the archaeological date of the robbing deposits. Both these arguments need to be examined.

Firstly the fact cannot be avoided that the East Range would block the new gate to some extent. It projects about halfway across its width. The excavation trench, although about 4 metres from the Gateway, caused extreme problems for modern vehicles trying to turn in the limited space and one can imagine that it would be no less so for medieval carts. The trench was not even at the end of the building which would be even closer to the gate and cause greater problems.

Secondly, the decoration on the Gatehouse arch from its style dates no later than 1140-1150 (Chapter 1 page, 10 ; Plates 6 and 7).

Thirdly, the alignment or realignment of the gate points at the North Hall's main entrance. The conclusion that there is a direct spatial connection seems inescapable. It suggests that the new approach was designed with the gate to give a direct approach to the new hall and its splendid door. This however would give attackers who gained the gate a direct line of attack on the hall. Possible solutions are:

1. The outer Barbican provides the military defence while retaining/protecting the ceremonial entrance.

2. The retention of the East Range.

3. There was another obstacle between.

If the second option is the case, why align the new entrance on the hall door? The building would obscure it so the perspective would be lost.

However, what of the fourteenth century deposits seen lying against the wall in the section of the trench in the courtyard? Possibly this was just one of a number of fourteenth Century pits in the courtyard and it just happens in the section at that point. The demolition of the wall could date to the fourteenth century under Hatfield in the wake of his extensive alterations to the building and the expansion of the Keep mound for the Octagon Tower. This latter obviously made necessary the destruction of those structures on the east side of the East Range and represented on the Jones Plan of 1904 by a series of dotted foundations close to the present mound retaining wall (Plan A). Hatfield could in fact have decided to clear this side of the courtyard entirely including the East Range if it was still standing. This still leaves us with the awkward relationship of the gate and East Range between the twelfth and fourteenth Centuries.

Alternatively the Gatehouse could be the work of Du Puiset who merely wanted an imposing approach to his new hall. It has already been said that the decorative scheme is a little primitive for this Bishop. It must again be asked, if the Gate was a front end to the hall, why leave a building in the way obscuring the view? It should be pointed out, however, that the Gate's direct alignment is actually to the west of the North Hall door by one bay. Flambard's entrance may therefore have been more to the west anyway - the East Range would not obscure it. Du Puiset's possible attempts to relate the Gate and the Hall entrance have been discussed above (page 118).

Another contender that must be seriously considered as the architect of the Gate is Bishop Rufus (1133 - 41). His dates would fit well with the decorative scheme which also bears a resemblance to the work of this prelate on the facade of the Cathedral Chapter House (Plate 10). The fundamental problem is that of where or whether the Gate fits in the conception of the building as a Castle or Palace. The Gate appears to be a part of an integral remodelling scheme which includes the Barbican and outer gate and possibly the moat.

One possibility is that the rubble foundation seen in the courtyard trench and attached to the corner of the East Range formed part of an inwardly projecting Inner Barbican. This would help relieve the military problem by providing an awkward zig-zag

for the attackers to negotiate. The East Range would still provide some cover although one should not discount the discomfort of missiles raining from the gate above.

If the scheme was primarily decorative which the presence of the Barbican and Outer towers would seem to deny, the East Range is clumsily located in relation to the gate, obscuring the view across to the imposing south door of the hall and ruining the effect of a head on approach.

Clearly it is important to know what the nature of the rubble foundation and its associated structure was but this is not possible at this time. On the present evidence the East Range does not seem to fit well with either scheme but its incorporation into an Inner Barbican feature might well explain the apparent awkwardness of the approach. Hatfield may have felt secure enough in his time to demolish the Range and its attendant Barbican structures. From the evidence recovered in the Fellow's Garden excavation it would seem that the Moat itself was filled in not long after and there is a general decline in the upkeep of the castle defences from Hatfield's day. It has been noted that to conceive of an outer Barbican and an inwardly projecting secondary Barbican with a zig-zag approach would endow the early twelfth century castle with a level of sophistication in its defences that would be hard to parallel elsewhere in Britain (page 94). In the final event, the explanation that the inner gate was part of a decorative and ceremonial scheme seems a simpler one. The East Range would then be demolished by Hatfield who in respect of his stone Keep may have decided to rob it as a cheap and immediate source of good building stone.

CHAPTER 6

EVOLUTION AND RECONSTRUCTION

ORIGINS

The first question must be: was the castle placed on a virgin site and if not, what preceded it, and what traces, if any, are left of that previous archaeology?

The early development of the town and its archaeological remains are discussed in a number of articles (e.g. Bonney 1990, 19 -20; Carver 1979, 25 - 26 ; Clack 1985 21 - 27); here that discussion will be referenced rather than reiterated. Whilst it is unclear in what way the early town was defended its seems likely to have taken the form of a simple earth rampart and timber palisade enclosing the settlement. As always, since the neck of the peninsula is the weakest point, the main thrust of the defences should have been concentrated at this point.

The evidence of what was seen in 1904 beneath the North Hall is important here. Gee says of the stonework:

> an inspection shows that ... when the adhering soil was removed it was found to have no particular face, no courses and no regular overhang of the stones, and the impression given is that it is the rough rubble backing of a wall built upon a sloping sandy surface.
> ... It is to be noted that this building ... is filled solid with a sandy soil from the level of the courtyard up to the underside of the joists of the Common Room..:(Gee 1928, 79)

The first part of the description very much suggests the form of a rough retaining wall to an earthwork defence. From the evidence of the trenches on the North terrace (Appendix O) it would appear that the North Range has been cut into the natural slope and it may be that this description is that of the Norman engineers' attempts at foundation in a difficult geological situation. None the less it should also be pointed out the the surviving soil within the north hall's ground floor is two metres above the natural deposits seen on the North Terrace. It is also much sandier and appears to be

of a different perhaps re-deposited character. Could it be a surviving fragment of the late Saxon defences to the peninsula?

It has been suggested that from the form and character of the early town and given the involvement of the local earl, Uchtred, that Durham was founded as a type of burh (Carver 1980, 16 and Bonney 1990, 15). That is, that the monks did not come to Durham by accident but were heading deliberately for a known and newly created refuge. If that was the case the new refuge would be expected to have defences of some kind.

It is possible that a simple earthwork and timber defence could have been constructed around the top of the peninsula. Symeon tells us that when the Scots attacked the city in 1040 the defences were too strong for them to breach and that the heads of the enemy were displayed on the "walls" around the marketplace (1882, 90). It would appear that there was some form of defence to the peninsula therefore and it might be expected at this period to be of the earthwork and timber palisade variety. Gee suggests that the twin danger from the Danes and Scots at the start of the eleventh century may have led to a strengthening of the defences (1928, 8-9). In their study of ringworks, Alcock and King suggested that only in a few cases is the central area of a ringwork raised above the external area. Durham may have been little more than a large palisade (Alcock and King 1969, 94). Under their classification of "large", Alcock and King cite Old Sarum with measurements of 360' to 310' or 110m to 95m, with a scarp of 55' / 17m and a counterscarp of 20' / 6m (Alcock and King 1969, 95). Durham's enclosure can be estimated at approximately 120' / 40m in diameter with a scarp of 25' / 8m and a counterscarp of 10' / 3m.

In 1068 William of Jumièges says that the insurgents from York fled to Durham and there "constructed a strong castle" (1602, VII, 40). This was presumably constructed very rapidly and seems unlikely to have been of stone construction. Why flee to Durham? The answer may simply be that the defences on the peninsula may have been well known and were in good enough condition to be utilised. The building within them of a "strong castle" may simply have been a mimic of what they had seen

been a mimic of what they had seen their Norman conquerors do elsewhere: a mock castle. It cannot be discounted that this may have included the throwing up of the present motte as well.

THE FIRST CASTLE

The form of the first castle must be considered first. Clearly the castle is now of the motte and bailey type. The first and fundamental question must therefore be was it always of this type? Can the Motte be assumed as a primary feature?

The Conqueror himself, when he arrived in Durham, would have appreciated the strategic position of the old defence. Table Nine demonstrates that his policy was to re-use existing fortifications and examples can be cited from Dover, Pevensey, the Tower of London, and Exeter. The use of the old earthen ramparts as part of the new castle may also have been seen as a labour and time saving measure. Certainly this last appears to have been a factor as it is known that Durham was already thought strong enough to withstand a Danish attack in 1075 (Clack 1985, 51).

That mottes were added to existing ringworks can not be doubted. Evidence from castle Neroche in Somerset has demonstrated a site where the evidence showed three periods of earthwork fortification with only the last including a motte across the original enclosures.(Davison 1967, 43-4). The RCAHM volume for Glamorgan notes of Sully castle that "the most striking aspect of the later castle is the disregard its layout shows for the earlier defences" (RCAHM 1991, 346).

At Sully many of the later buildings overlie the earlier ringwork. While the motte at Durham could have been added at any time, it must be noted that the Conqueror was the impetus for the castle's construction according to Symeon (1885, 199 - 200). Kenyon suggests that ringworks were the quickest form of castle for the Norman invaders to throw up and as such tended to be the dominant form of castle in the years following the Norman Conquest (Kenyon 1990, 7). He adduces as a parallel example that in the twelfth century invasion of Wales, the first castles are primarily of this type.

None the less an examination of the castles founded by the Conqueror immediately post-Conquest reveals that William's policy was to utilise pre-existing fortifications where possible.

In tables Eleven and Twelve (Appendix E) I have assembled some data on the early post-Conquest castles both Royal, i.e. founded by William, and noble, although there is some overlap here. Durham is a case in point; although ordered by William, it was actually built by Earl Waltheof (Gee 1928, 65).

I have tried to select a group of immediate post - Conquest castles for both the royal and noble tables. Those castles have been used where reasonable information is known about the early form and size. The bailey size given is estimated from either the approximate area of the original, where known, or the size of the present inner bailey where it is assumed that the area enclosed was fossilised by the early addition of stone walls.

The great variation in both royal and noble castles, even when constructed by the same man is notable. It is clear that each castle was individually adapted to meet the local situation and needs. Dover, London, Exeter, Hastings, Winchester and Pevensey were all placed within pre-existing fortifications and it is clear that William used these wherever possible. The earthworks at Durham, therefore, would not have escaped his attention when siting the early castle. The geology must also have played its part. Corfe and Nottingham were placed on headland sites as were Tillières, Falaise and Ivry in Normandy. It may be notable that only Nottingham out of these has a motte and this is a natural rock outcrop. A motte was not perhaps the obvious form to use at Durham.

Of the noble castles, Chepstow and Okehampton are both early foundations; neither has a motte but both are on rocky spurs. Richmond occupies a cliff above the Swale river and here also there is no motte. Although Hereford does have a motte and is also an early foundation the date of the motte, now only vestigial is not known, nor whether it is a primary feature. It should also be noted that Durham is not at the head of its peninsula but at the neck and artificial height may have been thought better at

this weaker point. It has been thought that the motte at Durham may be founded on a natural mound of sand and this may have been borne out by the excavations below Tunstall's Chapel (Gee 1928, 89 and Simpson and Hatley 1953, 58-9).

In his article on early earthwork castles, Davison reviews the early castles established by William and the invading Norman army and suggests that the Motte and Bailey form of castle appears as a general scheme in the Conqueror's campaign of castle building from 1068 onwards (Davison 1967, 45). However, the primacy of the mottes in Davison's list has not been tested by excavation and is unproved; as has been seen, there could be great variation. So while Durham's motte might be primary its later addition cannot be firmly excluded.

In this early period, it would appear that the passage of what was to later become the North Gate was thought to be the main point needing strengthening. This is logical for it was the natural ingress into the town area and the early fortified settlement. At this time of course, Palace Green did not exist as an open area and the bulk of the settlement must have been adjacent to the Cathedral (Symeon 1882, 140 and see page 51). When Flambard cleared these dwellings, it was a logical step to throw a wall around the peninsula and thus form a large outer bailey as well placing the important shrine of St Cuthbert within a better defence. Indeed while the inner/outer bailey may have been created by Flambard, he may also only have been formalising in stone a previously perceived relationship between the castle and the rest of the settlement.

It is also possible that there were other structures on the site which influenced William's choice of it for the castle.

The south wall of the Undercroft of the West Hall has already been described and its early character noted. The possibility must be considered that this is a survival from before the castle's construction and that it already had some administrative function at the time of the Norman invasion.

It has been assumed that the Earl's house was near the Cathedral since Symeon says that when it was fired in 1069 "...the flaming sparks flying upwards caught the

western tower which was in immediate proximity." The building at the castle end of the peninsula, therefore, might seem to have been something else and since stone built would be of some rank.

It is also possible to read Symeon's reference in other ways. Firstly the reference need not mean the buildings were actually adjacent; there must be some allowance for writer's licence. The majority of the buildings in the town were of wood. Sparks flying from a burning building on the position of the present Undercroft could therefore easily be carried across the wooden roofs of the timber buildings of the town onto the Cathedral. Since the main point of the text is to point out people's terror that the holy shrine might burn, destruction of part of the town as well may have seemed irrelevant. It can also be argued that this description, however, deliberately implies a spatial relationship between the two buildings. A recent excavation, however, revealed that the area at the west end of the present Cathedral, and thus adjacent to the Saxon Cathedral was the site of the town cemetery (Carne 1993). It seems unlikely therefore, that the Earl's house would be in this area.

Hutchinson equated the burning building with the original Bishop's Palace (Hutchinson 1785 I, 104). While, after long debate it is recognised that the castle as a social phenomenon was a Norman import into England it is also known that there were some pre-conquest castles in the country (e.g Hereford, Clavering). Although archaeology has failed to conclusive prove any sites, they are firmly mentioned in documentary sources and it is not certain that all named sites include all the pre-conquest sites. It has also become clear that many castles were founded on sites previously fortified in the Saxon period.

At Sulgrave in Northamptonshire excavation revealed that the Norman ringwork overlay and incorporated parts of a late Saxon manor. The manor had possibly been fortified in the early eleventh century. Similarly at Goltho in Lincolnshire a fortified Anglo-Saxon enclosure of the ninth century was overlain by a Norman motte and bailey castle. It has been suggested that the main factor in both cases, of the placing of the castle, was occupying the same site as the old Saxon manor

(Davison 1977, 105-14 & Beresford 1977, 47-67). Deddington in Oxfordshire was originally a late Saxon fortified enclosure with buildings which was overlaid by a timber enclosure castle in the late eleventh century (Ivens 1984).

The idea of a stone hall within a fortified enclosure was known elsewhere in this period. Castle Acre in Norfolk in its first phase was little more than a country house within a weak ringwork with a gate (Kenyon 1990, 49-50). Locally there is the example of Barnard castle where the late eleventh century timber hall was set within a castle ringwork (Austin, 1982, 294). The castle at Auckland started as a manor house, perhaps little more than a hunting lodge (Rait 1911, 202-4). Unfortunately the site at Auckland has been extensively remodelled and any evidence of an early ringwork has been lost. Thus the idea of an administration block within a fortified earthwork would have been familiar to the Normans and could have prompted William's decision to upgrade the site into a full castle.

Could the Bishop's palace have been previously on the castle site? Biddle suggests that the site of Wolvesey palace at Winchester was also occupied by the Saxon Bishops' palace (1967, 31-2). This view is supported by James who suggests that William Giffard re-established the complex at Wolvesey and that the Saxon hall was still in use when the Norman palace began.(1990, 42.). In a recent lecture (Durham 1992), Jan Frolik showed that in the ninth century the term "Prague castle" was applied to the whole of the early town within the enclosed defences, very similar to Durham in the Middle Ages. In this enclosed area the only buildings of stone were churches with one exception - the Bishop's Palace. The stone building in its enclosure at the north end of Durham's peninsula therefore, might echo this arrangement. Some may feel that the Bishop's Palace should more properly be situated nearer the Cathedral which in 1072 was further to the south that at present. The early stone building thus may have been the Earl's house - Earl Uchtred had helped to found the new city. (Bonney 1990, 15). It not unreasonable to suppose that he may have made a residential site for himself and his successors within the new defence and close (in secular terms) to the shrine he had helped to create.

William might have hoped for continuity by placing his castle on the old Episcopal or noble seat. Yet the creation of the castle proper could have been a greater break with the past than perceived. The old hall need not necessarily have had its own enclosure; such as it did have, need not have dominated the town or peninsula in the way William's castle did. The building(s) were probably commandeered by Robert Cumin as a political move and thus were subsequently destroyed in the firing of 1069. The south wall as it survives shows no sign of burning but it is not known what other structures may have been at this end of the peninsula nor what damage the fire may have done.

When William the Conqueror came to Durham the old town defences were obvious for utilisation as part of a castle defence. Placing the castle on the old buildings may have been both practical and politic. It was an obvious part of the defences to use; particularly if it had its own enclosure. Secondly it emphasised the break with the past and the new political overlordship of the Normans. If the "strong castle" constructed by the insurgents in 1068 had also been in this area, it could be used as a part of the new defences, saving money, and would also make a firm political point about William's eventual triumph over them.

No other Bishop had a castle and such secular power as was given to Walcher and his Norman successors, and the imposition is curiously passed over in Symeon's history. There the date of the castle's foundation is recorded and that it was for the Bishop's protection. Symeon's purpose was as ever to represent the continuity of the see and Church at Durham and represents Walcher as pious and monastic, a true successor to Cuthbert and Bede (Gransden 1974, 114ff). Yet apart from the description of his death, Symeon says little about Walcher and his castle. It may be that Symeon recognised that the creation of the castle and the secular powers it granted to the Bishop were a real break with the ecclesiastical past and therefore remained silent on a subject which clearly disrupted his central theme of continuity. The castle must have been an imposition on the town in an area previously dominated by the church. While present visitors see clearly that it is a castle and experience the

emotions that we attach to that word it must be considered that the people of eleventh century Durham saw it slightly differently. The town was used to being fortified and had been so since its earliest days; indeed it would seem that Uchtred had designed it as a military refuge. The fortifying of essentially secular buildings would not therefore be so surprising or unexpected. The question must also be asked: was it primarily a castle at all?

This question is at least answered by Symeon. He gives as the Conqueror's reason for placing a castle here as "That it might be a place to keep the Bishop and his household safe from the attacks of assailants." (1885, 199-200).

William clearly had in mind the massacre of Robert Cumin and his men by the townsfolk; Durham's watchful eye was at first, turned internally.

PHASE I: BISHOP WALCHER (Phase Plan III)

As has been discussed, the early town and its defences were mainly of timber construction. Most of the early construction of Durham Castle, however, seems to be of stone. *In situ* fragments of outer walls can be seen on the north side of the Norman Chapel and the south side of the Low Tower and these are extremely thick - two metres or more in thickness. They give every impression of being massive defensive walls. There are clear military features in the primary building - towers on the curtain wall, such as the Low Tower (Plate 14), a sally-port (Plate 78) survives in the early curtain wall on the north side of the Norman Chapel. The Keep, however, was of wood and there is no clear evidence that it was converted to stone until the days of Bishop Hatfield (1345 - 1381).

Armitage points out that in the English climate it takes about ten years for soil to settle to the point where it provides a firm foundation for stone footings and therefore concludes that the first keeps were of wood(Armitage 1912, 82 n.2).

Given, however evidence such as the site at Farnham where a stone tower rises through the mound this argument is only relevant where it can be shown that the keep

rests on the mound or uses it as a foundation for footings (Thompson 1967,104). A tower which rises from the natural ground surface merely uses the mound as support and while settling of the soil still takes place it should not radically affect the footings which rely on the natural rock for support.

Armitage notes that the greater part of the castles of the Teutonic Knights were of stone and earth (Armitage 1912 82, n.3 quoting Kohler Die Entwickelung des Kriegwesen III, 376) and that Laurence's statement that "from its gate the stubborn wall rises with the rising mound" (ed. Raine 1880, 11) does not suppose that the wall was constructed of stone. She therefore does not consider Durham as a stone built castle of the eleventh century and believed that Flambard's castle at Norham was also of wood.

The archaeological evidence does not favour this view. Details of the the Great Hall's Undercroft and the Low Tower, suggest they were constructed in the eleventh century. In addition evidence recovered from the courtyard excavation of the East Range suggest a similar date of construction for that Range (Chapter 1, pages 39-40 and Appendix L). At the east end of the North Range a number of stone buildings were demolished to make way for the construction of the North Hall. The pottery recovered from the infill beneath the North range has been linked with kilns at Newcastle and given a preliminary date of not later than the early twelfth century at the latest (S Mills pers. comm. 1986). All this evidence suggests substantial stone building at Durham before the end of the eleventh century. Equally recent work at Norham has suggested that Flambard's buildings there were of stone (Dixon and Marshall 1993; forthcoming and see discussion in chapter 7).

Most discussions of the castle's early appearance have been based on the poem by Laurence of Durham which has been quoted in Chapter 2 (ed. Raine 1880, 9-11).

While authors have disagreed on exactly what Laurence's description of the motte and its construction represents, there is a general consensus that the main tower is of wood. The description of the differences in ground level, within and without, suggests that the tower was indeed carried at least part of the way into the mound or

contained the topmost portion of the mound within it (discussed on page 60). As for whether the tower existed previously or was also built by William, there is no clue and both alternatives are possible.

Undoubtedly many early keeps were of wood; Durham is not unusual in this respect. What marks it out is as uncommon that it is of wood in a castle that is predominantly built of stone from the first. Even if this construction was a temporary measure to save time in the first instance it is odd that it was not replaced in the more durable material, thus bringing it in line with the other buildings of the enclosure. It should be noted, however, that the keep at Shrewsbury was also of wood until its collapse around 1270 (Higham 1989, 52). Armitage believed that history demonstrated that the keep was not a refuge but the permanent residence of the noble. Again it seems highly unlikely at Durham that given the choice between two comfortable stone built accommodation blocks in the court and the (probably damp) wooden tower on the motte that the Bishops would have opted for the latter. This perhaps again underlines that Durham should not be thought of exclusively as a castle and strictly subjected to the rules of that term, but rather as a fortified palace with a greater emphasis on accommodation and domestic comfort than a merely military institution. Nonetheless, wooden keeps could be quite luxurious, as evidenced by the famous description by Lambert of Ardres of the great wooden tower constructed about 1099 for Arnould, Lord of Ardres (Hamilton - Thompson, 1912, 54). It is difficult to determine what exactly the wooden Keep at Durham was used for. The documentary sources are almost silent on the matter. The one exception is Reginald who says that at ÞuPuiset's accession in 1153 the prison or dungeon was in the Keep (Reginald 1835, 105).

It seems that the keep was of wood and there may have been something of the old defensive palisade left on the north side of the enclosure. Nonetheless Durham seems to be conceived as a stone castle from the first paralleling contemporary structures such as Chepstow and Richmond.

Since the town was on the peninsula in the first instance until Flambard cleared it (Symeon 1882 140) the castle was probably at first confined to the north end of the peninsula, guarding the weak neck and the ingress/egress of the town.

In many contemporary castles such as Ongar, Berkhamsted, Hertford, and Oxford, the motte was encircled by a ditch. It is certain that the southern side of the motte at Durham was ditched and I have discussed above the possibilities of a branch on the west of the motte. It is unlikely, however, that the motte was fully encircled, i.e. on the north also. As has been referred to above, the deposits on the north Terrace suggest a much steeper profile to the northern slope, in fact almost a cliff-like appearance. This would render the addition of a moat also on the north side as a superfluous and unnecessary expenditure.

The underlying geology of sandstone and glacial deposits and the water table, makes it unlikely that the moat retained water. The moat where present was very probably a dry ditch. The aforementioned examples might suggest by parallel that the ditch originally curved around the motte into the present courtyard area but there is no archaeological confirmation of this. Whether the ditch was also primarily along the south front is a matter for speculation - clearly from the recent excavations, it was dug here at some point (Plate 4). It cannot, however, be firmly stated to be primary. If indeed the stone foundations discovered on the south side of the ditch in the Fellows' Garden excavations (Plate 172) date to the eleventh century it would imply that the moat post-dated them. They seem to take little account of its alignment. The moat may, however, have been recut in later years and the evidence distorted at this point.

The evidence recovered in the excavation of the east range (pages 39-40) suggests that the original gate was located elsewhere from its present site. For the reasons discussed above I believe it may have been to the west near to the position of the present Garden Stairs building. To repeat, the entrance would have been flush with the outer wall and taken the form of two blockhouses projecting back into the courtyard of which only part of the western block remains in the lower part of the east and south walls of the Garden stairs building. This would seem to militate against any

predecessor on the site of the present Kitchen Tower having had a primary defensive role. At Ludlow and Richmond the original entrances are through such towers and although relocated in later periods, at both castles the primary towers remain adjacent to the later entrances continuing their original defensive status. Clearly any predecessor on the site of the Kitchen Tower would be in the wrong place for this.

Walcher's building campaign appears extensive. In the first instance the concern would have been the curtain wall and mound around/supporting the Keep, that is the primary defences "to keep the Bishop and his household safe from the attacks of assailants."

From the evidence of the excavations in the Fellows' Garden the moat can be estimated at at least 17.5 metres wide, 150 metres long, and in excess of six metres deep. This gives a minimum volume of 8000 cubic metres of soil. The original size of the motte is, as has been stated, unknown (pages 35-6) Hatley and Simpson's excavations did not yield a complete section through the early mound and therefore an estimate must be made (Elevation 8). Given an approximate base for the motte of 30 x 40 metres, one could achieve a reasonable height on the motte of perhaps eight metres or more depending on slope. This is not to state the moat/motte relationship as primary, only to indicate that the motte could have been constructed from the excavated moat material if desired.

The enclosure was probably erected very quickly. The primary accommodation was probably wooden buildings. Given the nature of its early south wall, the West Range might have been the first to be built/rebuilt. If this was a remnant of the old Bishop's Palace or Earl's house it may well have been thought politically as well as practically expedient to rebuild this building first.

When the enclosure was complete, possibly including the West range, Walcher was free to turn his mind to other constructions - the Chapel building and the East Range. Both seem of a higher quality than the surviving work in the West range suggesting that time and expense was expended in their construction. The latter was

not a problem since it is known that William gave the estate of Waltham to the church at Durham and it is known from a royal charter that the revenues from Waltham were granted to the Bishop to assist with the expense of constructing the castle (Ransford 1989, 5). That this work was of the highest quality cannot be doubted. Apart from the evidence of the floors in the Norman Chapel and East Range, and the painted plaster of the latter, there is the additional find of a capital, discovered in the 1950s, west of the Norman Chapel (Plate 80). Also there is the find of a capital in a local builder's yard which is believed ot have come from the castle (Plates 81 and 82). This was a sculptured Corinthian capital of sandstone, with prominent angle volutes, between which are arched fields, two enclosing plant motifs hanging down from the apex; below, a leaf ending in a volute and a trefoil plant. The third arch contains a human head, with an upright leaf below. The necking of the capital is in the form of a plain roll. This description is taken from the Catalogue of English Romanesque Art, from the exhibition at the Hayward Gallery, London, 1984, where the capital is listed as item 100.

At the end of Walcher's episcopate the castle may have looked something like Phase Plan III. The appearance of the kitchen area is unknown but may have housed preliminary domestic arrangements - a simple oven house or service area adjacent to the West Hall on the one side and the latrine in the Low Tower on the southern defence. The north and north-west corner are also not clear. The fragmentary foundation at the north-west corner of the North Hall suggests some structure. Possibly there was a tower here overlooking the river crossing below. With the bulk of the town clustered around the Saxon Cathedral the defensive outlook of the Castle was probably to the south also in the first instance.

It can be seen that the courtyard has something of a rectangular layout with both Halls facing each other. This scheme can be paralled at a number of sites. The episcopal palaces at Wolvesey, Winchester and Hereford both display this form although both are slightly later (James 1990, 47 and 61). Hereford has the aisled Hall and chamber block facing each other, with the Chapel at right angles to these

buildings. Wolvesey is more formalised and James suggests that this owes something to de Blois' role elsewhere as a castle builder (1990, 46). This may be true for the same kind of tight rectangular layout is seen at Old Sarum and Sherborne castles both built by Roger of Caen, bishop of Salisbury (Montgomerie & Clapham 1947, 138; James 1990 44). Sherborne does not have two halls in the layout and at Old Sarum the second Hall is away from the castle and attached to the Cathedral cloister. This second hall, however, is also in a rectilinear setting of buildings, perhaps favouring James' view that it also owes something to the claustral form. If the fragmentary foundation at the north-west corner of Durham was a tower, it would be closer to the Old Sarum/Sherborne model. Norham castle in its first period (the 1120s) also seems to have consisted of two halls, one first floor and one ground floor facing each other in a rectilinear layout (Dixon and Marshall 1993; forthcoming).

On the north-west of the enclosure was the Chapel building, a single storey structure, standing by itself and built against the north enclosure wall. The fact that this wall zig-zags around the corner of the building rather than the Chapel being built flush with it, raises a question. Was it built this way or has the northern defence been altered at this point? The answer to this question may lie in the changes executed by Bishops William St Calais and Flambard.

PHASE II: WILLIAM ST CALAIS (1080 - 1096 ; Phase Plan IV)

It would appear that the revenues from Waltham continued undiminished during the episcopacy of St Calais (see below). The Bishop could thus increase the comfort of the castle still further. It may have been he that was responsible for the construction of the East Range but for the reasons given above, I believe this had already been constructed during the later years of Walcher's episcopate.

St Calais may well have improved the West Range. The arches that survive on the north-west corner of the Undercroft may date from this period, assuming of course that they are not contemporary with the early work of the south wall. St Calais might

also be responsible for building the West Range higher and adding the main arcade to the existing shell.

He seems responsible, given the archaeological evidence and its discussion on pages 125 - 127, for adding the Chapel Lodgings to the Chapel building and it may therefore be assumed that he constructed the splendid garderobe that adjoins the south building on its south side. Whether he made any provision to link the South Building and the garderobe to the East Range is at present unknown - the pipe trenches shown on the 1904 plan do not quite extend far enough. It would however seem a logical thing to do and the castle at this point would look something like Phase Plan 4. The possible differences between this plan and the present arrangement at the west end of the Chapel arise out of the question posed at the end of the last section.

The break that can be seen on the north-west corner of the Chapel building where it meets the later, thirteenth century, angle tower can be explained by the insertion of the tower. The second edition of Pevsner, speaking of the Norman Chapel, says that "Excavations have proved that the range extended further North-west...", but gives no reference for these excavations (Pevsner, 1983, 217-8). Certainly such an extension would solve the problem of the awkward triangular space left between the west end of the South building and the northern enclosure wall as it exists at present. A number of dotted lines appear on the plan at this point but hardly seem substantial enough to warrant the above statement (Plans A and S). Why Bishop Flambard should realign the north side in this way, introducing the dogleg into the wall is unknown. The alternative suggestion would be that the Chapel was indeed built into the corner of the north enclosure wall and that St Calais' addition left the awkward space which was one of the factors prompting Bishop Flambard to restructure the north side.

The present archaeological evidence is not specific enough to choose between Bishops Walcher (1071 - 1080) or St Calais (1080 - 1096) as the builder of the Norman Chapel. According to a recent study by Dr. Eric Cambridge, stylistically, the Chapel strongly suggests the work of St Calais (Cambridge 1994; forthcoming). The

problem here is the addition of the small accomodation block which is immediately adjacent to the south of the building. It seems slightly odd for St Calais to go to so much trouble over his chapel and then dump a rather ordinary accomodation block right in front of it. Not only does it prevent the chapel from being seen; it makes access to it that much more difficult.

There is no archaeological evidence at present which answers the question either way. as to whether the Chapel was single or double storey to begin with. With the addition of the South Building a stairway was created from the first floor of this accomodation block down to the ground floor of the Chapel. The access from the upper floor of the Chapel to the upper floor of the accomodation block is provided by a very narrow plain door and there is no structural evidence of a larger or grander entrance in the past. The whole arrangement suggests that at this period, whether the Chapel building was two storey or not, the focus of attention appears to have been the ground floor, on what is still thought of as the 'Norman Chapel'. The Chapel may have begun as a single storey building, later elevated in order to place a chapel on the same level as Flambard's first floor North Hall (see also the discussion on pages 125 - 129).

Lanfranc is said to have pacified his monks by building them a fine new Cathedral. Similarly, Gundulf began work on Rochester castle in 1087, but immediately upon election, in 1077, had begun work on a new Cathedral. From examples like this, Platt sees links between Cathedral and castle building in the eleventh and twelfth centuries (1982, 7 - 9). He also cites a Continental paradigm, Benno of Osnabrück, who built the Harzburg and other castles, as well as the Cathedral at Speyer in the eleventh century. James also sees a link between church and secular display and cites examples such as Roger at Old Sarum and Giffard and de Blois at Winchester who were also noted castle builders. (James 1990 42 - 46). St. Calais would thus be placed in a tradition from Walcher and continuing to Flambard.
I have ascribed the small fragment at the north-west corner (Plate 135) to St Calais. From the discussion of the wall fragment on page 22 I conclude that the overlying wall with its string course is probably eleventh century. The underlying wall may therefore

be a stretch of the original curtain wall over which a construction has been built. This construction may have been built by either Walcher or St. Calais - I have ascribed it to the latter because it is a fundamental change in the original enclosure which was built by Walcher.

PHASE III: BISHOP FLAMBARD (1099 - 1128 ; Phase Plan V)

A comparison between Phase Plan IV and V and the overwhelming differences that appear between them illustrate how massive Flambard's changes were. The was not only a change of degree but also of emphasis and conception. The extensive nature of Flambard's building works are all the more extraordinary given the evidence of the charter of queen Mathilda (Ransford ed. 1989, 5). This charter was a release of the canons of Waltham abbey from the annual payment to the Bishop of Durham which was made explicitly "for the building of the castle" (page 53). This would suggest that the castle was felt to be complete by Flambard's day- his additions no doubt greatly strengthens the castle and city but were not perhaps perceived as necessary by the royal authority.

The changes within the castle itself must be seen in the light of the overall changes in the city layout and structure. The main thrust of defence is thrown outwards to the peninsula walls, the gates, and the bridge towers. Flambard's work in the castle is both domestic and defensive but perhaps with an overall eye to his own sense of grandeur.

His defensive works are difficulty to pin down with certainty. Symeon tells us that he cleared Palace Green "that the church might be neither polluted by filth nor endangered by fire..." (Symeon, 1882, 140)

Perhaps also in his mind was the idea of clearing a large space whereby men might be better able to admire the new Cathedral of which he had built most of the nave. Symeon also says that he constructed a wall between the church and the castle "Ralph the Bishop of Durham began a wall from the north part of the chancel of the church and carried it as far as the citadel of the Castle" (1885, 260). This statement

has been interpreted in different ways. Most have assumed that the wall ran from the Keep, down the mound through the site of the present Master's house, along the east side of Palace Green and joined on to the old apse of the Norman cathedral, before the addition of the Nine Altars Chapel in the thirteenth century.

Others have disagreed. In his letter Jevons claims that a proper reading of the text of Laurence's poem shows that the common view cannot be supported (Greenwell and Hodges Letters no. 18). In his view Laurence meant something quite different. This may be why Jevons suggests that the wall meant is that which descended to the north gate, ran along the east side of the peninsula and then joined onto the church. This seems to me an unnecessary complication and Jones' reconstruction of the traditional view is perfectly adequate (Jones, 1922 244-5).

The North wall, may have been built by Flambard with towers (Jones 1922 242). These are the towers mentioned by Hutchinson as surviving in his day (1785, 284) and fragments of which may be illustrated in early drawings (Plates 103 and 107). The east walls of the peninsula were similarly studded with towers and defensive look-outs. Bok's drawing gives only an impression of the system in decay but there still brings a sense of awe at the sight of this fortress city created by the Bishops (Plate 92).

The building of these extra walls attached to the castle must have occasioned some alteration to the construction on the motte which was still of wood at this time presumably.

Laurence's description has suggested to a number of writers the idea of a stone shell Keep to which the walls attach (e.g. Jones 1922, 245). Contained within this shell would have been the old wooden tower rising above the stone wall. It is a reasonable idea and also one which recalls the idea of Toy who has suggested that Hatfield rebuilt the Keep in the fourteenth century as an octagon, following the original plan (Toy 1966, 56). Similar shell Keeps, built of timber with a stone wall, are known at Windsor, Tamworth, Berkhampstead, and possibly Totnes and Trematon. Such a shell Keep of the early twelfth century might well have been an irregular

octagon echoing Cardiff, Richard's castle Hereford, Chilham (circa 1160), and Odiham (circa 1160) which are slightly later in date but similar in shape.

By relocating the Gate and building a defensive approach to it from the Green, Flambard not only strengthened the weaker side of the castle but also created for himself an open processional way from his Cathedral to his castle. If the moat was not already extended to the west at this point, it can be assumed that Flambard extended it; a natural and logical addition to the new southern defences of the castle entrance.

Building the Gatehouse in the new position where it survives to the present day meant that the East Range ought to have been demolished. However, the archaeology suggests that the Range was left standing (pages 39-40 and Appendix L). Flambard's intent was to build a new prestigious Hall on the north side of the enclosure. To this end he also demolished the west end of the South building attached to the Chapel and elevated the Chapel by one storey to give himself access to it at first floor level. The old single storey accommodation on the east side of the enclosure was merely in the way. It is odd that Flambard did not clear it, since by clearing it and perhaps other structures in the courtyard Flambard would echo his clearance of the Palace Green area and perhaps from similar motives. In the castle it would leave a clear view of the new arrangements so that a visitor entering via the Barbican under the new decorated Gate arch could look across an unobstructed courtyard and appreciate the new Hall on the north side. It was certainly a strong defensive scheme. It should not be discounted that would also have been a great effect. Since the Gate's centre line points to the west of the present entrance, Flambard may not have been concerned about leaving the East Range. In Flambard's times the grand entrance may have been that on the West Hall, of which only the Undercroft survives. The East Range would not obscure the approach to this entrance and thus need not be demolished.

The layout had now slightly changed (Phase Plan V). Although there is still a rectilinear form, the Halls are now at right angles and both appear to be first floor. The East Range still stands but with the construction of the larger building in the North Range, it can be suggested that its function had changed. This right-angled

arrangment can also be paralleled in a number of contemporary palaces such as the bishop's Palace at Ely (Wood 1965, 26). Here, the Prior's Hall to the south of the late thirteenth century Prior's Great Hall was a first floor hall over a vaulted undercroft. It is not impossible that the Prior's Great Hall, a ground floor hall, was a rebuild of an earlier building. In that case one would have two halls at right angles with a square kitchen in the angle, adjoining both halls. There is also a right-angled arrangement at Lincoln although this latter is only from the days of Hugh of Avalon at the end of the twelfth century (James 1990, 62). The existence of an early palace at Lincoln is known from documentary evidence but its nature is unclear. De Chesney's palace is said to have been built on the old foundations (Rait 1911 152, 158).

The archiepiscopal place at Canterbury appears to have had the halls at right angles from the earliest period. The plan of the 1070s was that of an inverted T-shape. The bar of the T was the east-west range, 46 - 61 metres long, containg ground floor great hall, service rooms and privy chambers. At right to this and extending to the north was another range 34 x 10.75 metres, perhaps containing lodgings at first floor level (Tatton-Brown, Rady, and Bowen 1991, 5).

PHASE IV: BISHOP DU PUISET (1153-1195) Phase Plan VI

Flambard's sweeping changes and the end of his episcopate are punctuation in the castle's development; a full stop. Thereafter changes take place within the scheme and design that Flambard had created and it is not a mere romanticism to say that the later history is only a maintenance of the scheme and its eventual collapse and decay.

Whether Du Puiset would have made any changes to the castle if there had not been a fire in the early years of his episcopate remains a moot point. It is an inescapable fact that the fire forced him to carry extensive rebuilding and repair. Once again it must be noted that this rebuilding is within the existing scheme of Flambard's layout but it did enable the addition of much decorative and sculptured stone work still admired by visitors and scholars today.

The evidence for the destruction of the castle has been reviewed above (Chapter 5). I believe that the fire did indeed start in Silver street and fanned by a north wind as Reginald describes (page 62), swept through the West Range and gutted it completely. The damage to the North range was not so extensive. The west end of the range must have been largely destroyed like the West range itself. The central section and ground floor probably survived largely as a shell protected by the old internal earthen bank which Flambard in his wisdom (or luck) had built across.

Du Puiset probably built the kitchen tower as evidenced by the surviving window on the west side of the building (Plate 16). Whether this was a construction *ab initio* or a rebuilding of Flambard's Kitchen is not known. A number of early palaces and castles exhibit this trait of having a large defensive tower at one corner or side of the domestic range. The example at Wolvesey Winchester has been mentioned in connection with the early Kitchen (above page 100). There is also an example at the Bishop's palace, Norwich, and at Roger of Caen's castles at Sherborne and Old Sarum, where the tower was attached to the end of the lodgings (Renn 1960, 22 ; James 1990, 44 ; Montgomerie & Clapham 1947, 138).

Du Puiset must have rebuilt virtually all of the West Range. Here, perhaps, his architect saved the old south wall for which this later age must be grateful; also perhaps the shell of Walcher's or St Calais' Undercroft and the arches surviving at the north end of that structure. The arches of the main arcade were probably demolished to the stone pads, which were left standing proud of the floor by about a metre, and the new arches were constructed on these bases.

William's architect, "Ricardus Ingeniator" seems to have preferred to build onto older work and to preserve, rather than demolishing and beginning again. In the absence of the revenues from Waltham it can be suspected that this was largely prompted by a desire to save the Bishop money rather than any reverence for the works of the past.

His ineptness in joining old work to new can be seen at the west end of the North Hall. Hodgson had already noted the ineptitude of the Galilee construction, and

the reckless disregard of engineering principles it displayed (Greenwell and Hodges Letters no. 1). In letter 2, he ascribes that work to William the Engineer, but says in 3 that it was Richard. He calls Richard's work "the act of a lunatic" and says "that in the capacity of engineer or builder, he must have been very deficient indeed."

Exactly why he changed the alignment at this point is not known but a solution can, I believe, be proposed.

Flambard's name is that which I have connected with the general scheme of building the defensive towers on the north. The structure on the north-west corner of the castle, of which I have suggested that remnants can be seen in some old prints and engravings, (Chapter 4), was probably not his work.

If one examines the ribbed roof of the passage which survives above the bathroom of the Chaplain's Suite and which I believe led to this north-west structure, one sees a discontinuity. On the west side of the passage the roof begins to curve as though forming a simple barrel vaulted roof. Since the garderobe is at the north-west corner of this space one could suggest that originally there was here a simple intra-mural garderobe chamber.

After the destruction by fire, Le Puiset may have used the opportunity of rebuilding to create a further connection between the castle proper and the lower western towers by building an intermediate tower below the north-west corner and above the north defensive wall. The intra-mural chamber would have been altered to a passage as part of the new access. The west end of the North range would have had to be realigned to join with the new arrangement and hence the kink in the building when the two alignments didn't quite match. Could the old castle water gate have been here? A simple direct connection to the bridge and the river, through the north-west tower passage, down into the new intermediate tower and then again down into the towers of the lower defensive wall. This kind of construction, i.e. a tower separate from and much below the main buildings may be a continental import by ' .Puiset. Examples can be seen at Chateau Gaillard in France and at the Karlstejn in

Czechoslovakia. In the latter case a tower separate from the main castle is reached through successively lower towers and enclosures descending from the main building (Anderson 1980, 175). It would be perfectly defensible as even if an enemy could gain both the lower and intermediate towers, the only access to the castle proper was through two entrances. The arch into the West courtyard which could be barred with a portcullis and could be defended by fire from above as well was one. The other, the passage through the north west tower only allowed a single file of people.

Some clues to du Puiset's work may be found in the work of his uncle Henry de Blois who rebuilt Wolvesey at Winchester. In building the Galilee Chapel at Durham, du Puiset employed the use of detached shafts of Purbeck marble (Plate 127). Later Frosterley marble, a local stone was used in constructions. Du Puiset's use of Purbeck, however, was probably a conscious desire to emulate his uncle who had introduced the use of the stone (Halsey 1980, 69). Some parallels can be drawn between the sites of Wolvesey and Durham as has been shown. Martin Biddle, the excavator of Wolvesey told me that there had been a terrace or walking promenade created by de Blois outside the hall at Wolvesey (pers. comm.). This was before the excavation of the North Terrace in which it was shown that the terrace, thought be a creation of the seventeenth century, very probably dated back to the early days of the Castle (Appendix O). So one source at least might be identified for some of the ideas at Durham.

SUMMARY

At the beginning of the period of study there is the town, enclosed by defensive earthworks, occupying the flat plateau on the peninsula. The Saxon town had already spread down the hill towards the site of the present marketplace. There may have been a site of some importance on the site of the present castle.

The castle is established on the weak neck of the peninsula, within the old earthwork defences. Constructed of stone from the first it moves towards a rectangular layout. Two opposing buildings, the West Hall and the East Range are

constructed in Walcher's episcopate (1071-1080). The Chapel was built either under Walcher or St. Calais (1080-1096) who also added some subsidiary buildings. Flambard (1099-1128) added a third hall on the north of the enclosure emphasising the rectilinear layout. He also relocated the Gate and may have dug or extended the castle ditch. After fire in the middle of the twelfth century du Puiset (1153-1195) rebuilt the West Range and added a Kitchen. He also rebuilt much of the North Hall and may have constructed the Barbican. His tower construction on the north-west corner of the North Hall became quickly unstable and during the tenancy of King John (1208-1217) the upper part of this tower was rebuilt.

The castle's rectilinear layout recalls a number of models such as the layouts at Sherborne and Old Sarum Castles and the claustral form. It is perhaps possible to look back to the great square fortress places of the Tower of London and Colchester built by Bishop Gundulf. Roger's castles would be the next step, Sherborne with the inner space filled with chalk for stability, then Old Sarum with the central space fully utilised as a courtyard. From there one moves to the later twelfth century and the more open layouts of Durham, Wolvesey, and Hereford. At the last of these, the buildings are no longer on the enclosure wall and one is moving towards the more open plan palaces of the thirteenth century. This is a pleasing model but should be treated with care. It links together a number of buildings of different function and rank.

A number of traits obviously filtered down through the social hierarchy. The King's palace at Clarendon was established as a hunting lodge. The surviving ruins of the great hall are believed to occupy the same site as the twelfth century hall. Thirteenth century documents refer to the "old hall" but its location has not been determined. This is unfortunate as the relationship between the two would be interesting to see, in respect of the sites mentioned above. The reconstruction of Clarendon by Allan Adams shows the later great hall with a square kitchen to the north-west and services at the west end, an echo of Durham's west range under Du Puiset (James & Robinson 1988, 69).

Auckland Castle also may have started as a hunting lodge (Rait 1911 202-4). The development here may have been very similar to Clarendon - the site and buildings have been so remodelled it is difficult to know to what extent Auckland had efences in the Middle Ages. A print by the Bucks in the eighteenth century shows the palace enclosed within a wall (Plate 172). Although the wall is fairly tall in places in the print, it nonetheless looks like an eighteenth century park or landscape wall with little of the military about it.

The King's palaces seem mainly to have been undefended; if he was threatened, he took to a castle (James & Robinson 1988, 2). The archiepiscopal palaces of Canterbury also seem to be undefended. However Bishops such as du Puiset, de Blois and Roger of Caen were all noted castle builders and their palaces all have a certain acknowledgement to the underlying trait. Further down the social spectrum where the climate was less certain, particularly after the Stephen and Matilda affair, defensive considerations in building were perhaps more prevalent. Although the model of expansion, proposed above, from the fortress to the palace is one line that could be drawn, there are other considerations such as the influence of the cloister. At Westminster the later medieval Abbot's Lodgings were placed not only against one of the main cloisters but themselves in a smaller cloister in a conscious desire, perhaps, to imitate. Castles also are moving in the twelfth century towards the formalised designs of the thirteenth century castles of Edward I. In considering whether the site at Durham is imitating castle, cloister, or palace development, however, the labels may be misleading of themselves. This anticipates the argument of my final chapter.

CHAPTER 7

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

In drawing this study to a conclusion, this final chapter has several purposes. I will first consider what work remains to be done in future and areas where evidence is still largely lacking.

The theme of this chapter has a certain reluctance about it. At Durham there are few pre-existing models which can be comfortably refined. This study has rather had to start from the ground up and reconstruct. In the foregoing analysis I have tried to demonstrate that the history of the building, as expected, is very complex and that the solutions to its archaeological problems are necessarily equally complex. The building sequence is obscured by numerous later fabric and constructional overlays. Elevation 18 illustrates this complex picture of patching and overlay with little original fabric left for examination (Appendix H). Models of reconstruction, therefore, rely on joining together a number of disconnected fragments into the likeliest order. The building is still very much in use. Opportunities for archaeological testing or exploration are few. This of necessity renders it difficult in many instances to choose between the various archaeological options with any certainty. The joins between the various fragments must often a "best guess" fit. In that sense I return to where I started in emphasising the preliminary nature of this work.

The second part of this chapter will briefly summarise the discussion on the origins of the castle. It will consider how and if the castle developed with respect to those origins. Durham will be considered in the context of other medieval palaces and castles. It will also be necessary to review M.W. Thompson's recent argument, that after the days of Flambard, the building ceased to be a castle at all (Thompson 1994 forthcoming).

The final part of this chapter will consider the implications of this study in the context of the field of castle and Medieval building studies in general. It should be said

that having completed this study and the revision of it, I arrived at certain conclusions which are expressed in this chapter. Those conclusions were particularly aided by Dr Philip Dixon's article on Hedingham great tower and my examination of Norham Keep, which Dr Dixon was also studying and suggested I should look at (Dixon and Marshall 1993). The day after this chapter had been substantially written Dr Dixon kindly sent me the galley draft of his article of Norham (Dixon and Marshall 1994; forthcoming). Not only did help to correct some of my misunderstandings of Norham, I also found that his conclusions about the implications for castle studies were very close to those I had independently arrived at. I was later directed to an article by David Stocker in which he called for a move away from the viewpoint of the military strategist and for an examination of castles as historical residences and as a function of society; castles should not be studied exclusively as military or martial buildings (Stocker 1992). Given that Dr Dixon and I were both studying the same sort of material and that Dr Dixon pointed me to Norham, I believe that this is not surprising nor does it detract from the views presented in this chapter. On the contrary I believe that since we came to the same ends from different directions it rather reinforces them. Stocker's comments demonstrate that a disatisfaction with the traditional approach is setting in and the implications suggested herein may become widely evident.

MOAT AND BARBICAN

The origins and development of the moat is still uncertain. The recent section across it in the Fellows' Garden area was not able to be excavated to primary levels and thus obtain constructional dating (Plate 4). It is unlikely that further sections across it will become available for a very long time. The Barbican area may well be more intact than previously supposed. Recent repairs in this area suggested that Jones' "excavations" of 1898 were little more than the laying of service trenches and that in places a good archaeological sequence of approach surfaces survived (Appendix K). The level approximating to the seventeenth century demolition of the twelfth century structures survives at about half a metre below the present road surface (see Elevation 3).

Although plans for a new Lodge in this area have been shelved, it cannot be discounted as a future project. The new building will be close to the outer gate site and archaeology in advance of its construction will be essential.

The gate's first position is also something which cannot be tied down with certainty at this point. The excavations in the Fellow's Garden did not provide any answers on the south side of the castle or the approach; if it becomes possible to investigate the area between the present Gatehouse and Garden Stairs where Jones saw "foundations" at the turn of the century, further light may be shed on this matter. In this respect it must be admitted that the primary dating of the motte is also unclear. A motte and bailey form for the early castle is suggested by King William's general development of his early castles and I have argued for this in Chapter 6. The motte, however, need not be primary and at this time there is no archaeological evidence for or against a primary foundation. If this space was available to the early castle it would clearly provide other options for the early approach. It must also be said, however, that if this were so, it is likely that the later development of the castle would have had a different focus and thus have developed along rather different lines from what is seen.

Recent ground water problems in the Keep and motte area have strongly implied the existence of a well chamber within the mound. This is hardly surprising - Keeps usually have a well within their structure, often at basement level; at Durham the problem hitherto has been the absence of such a feature. If the water problem in the mound worsens, it will be necessary to cut into the mound at certain points. This would provide the first really good section of the motte since the excavations by Simpson and Hatley (1953 56).

At the north end of the peninsula there may have already been a site of secular authority. The nature of that structure is unknown at present but I believe it may well have been the early Bishop's house or perhaps the Earl's house. Visiting scholars who have been shown the south wall of the Undercroft have opined that it is of pre-conquest form and possibly of the same date (e.g M. Biddle, W. Rodwell, pers. comm. 1988). Those with prior knowledge of the castle history have felt compelled to say that if they

had not known that the castle was founded in 1072 they would have suggested a pre-Conquest date (e.g R. Gem, E Fernie, pers. comm. 1998).

It is unlikely that any radical changes will be made to the Kitchen area in the near future. It is also uncertain how much evidence remains for study. When the Kitchen was refitted some years ago no access was given for archaeological recording and it is not known how much was destroyed. The alteration of the Garden Stairs building disturbed little in the way of fabric and most of the archaeological evidence recovered was of the seventeenth century. The exception to this was the opportunity for access into the lower part of the Low Tower. Here an examination of the structure confirmed the long held belief that it was part of the primary buildings. The discovery of an oubliette in this tower suggests perhaps that it acted as a guard tower. The position of the tower on the south curtain wall may serve to reinforce the suggestion that the early gate was in this area also (Appendix M).

The rampart on the north side i.e. under the North Hall might bear investigation. It might well be possible to remove a a fairly large sample of this material to obtain dating evidence, without harming the stability of the building.

The area under the Chaplain's Suite should also be regarded as a prime area for under-floor research especially as the underfloor deposits seem intact in this area (page 23). Since the ground floor is cased in stone the only access would appear to be if the floor of the rooms above are removed at any point. This is not an unlikely occurrence and should be taken advantage of.

Also in this area is the garderobe in the north-west tower. The wooden beam in this area has been alluded to (above, page 26) and a test of this could provide an important dendrochronological date for some of the early fabric. With the Victorian drainage system breaking down, there may well be further repair work in the area of the North Terrace. The opportunity for further sections across this important feature and the chance to obtain a dating sequence on this side of the castle should be noted.

The garderobe to the south of the Tunstall Chapel and beneath the Courtyard still contains a great deal of material (page 37). This could provide not only a dating sequence for this structure but a local pottery assemblage for the castle as a whole. It should not be discounted that the courtyard may have had other more ephemeral structures within it. Certainly the evidence from Sulgrave and Hen Domen suggests that it should be expected (Barker and Higham 1988; Davidson 1977). With the castle's present heating system set to break down, more trenches are likely in the Courtyard and further information may be forthcoming.

There are some other works which should be considered in the future although they may have only an indirect bearing on this study.

The first is that of the "Outer castle". While articles have alluded to it in discussing the development of the city there is a need for a detailed study of its early arrangements, its precise character and relationship to the inner bailey and so forth. While much has been destroyed in this by the building of the later Georgian town houses I believe a study would not be unprofitable.

It must be certain that the peninsula and early town were defended by earth works as referenced in Symeon (1882 90 -91). The early town was around the cathedral, particularly on its south side. However, Durham is a historic town that has fossilised in development and opportunities for archaeology are limited in occurrence and extent. A study of the outer area paralleling this study, i.e. using past observations, visual material, and archaeological information, where available, might fill out the present picture of the early settlement.

At Durham the Outer Bailey is often not noticed - or at least it is not appreciated the such exists. This is because the town in effect now occupies the area although it can be suspected that there was a more ordered arranged of the area in the Middle Ages (Plan R). Those who held property in the Outer area did so by right of castle-guard, that is they owed 39 days military service to the castle in respect of their tenure. There is the suggestion that the town was founded as a late species of burh (Carver 1979). That is,

as a defended refuge which offered tax and tenure concessions to residents in return for service in the town's defence. There thus may have been other forms of military regulation governing what was the early town area. The Inner Bailey seems to have been almost wholly given over to the Bishop, a fact which may have governed its later development as a palace. The fortifying of the whole peninsula in stone also, as I have suggested, must have thrown the defensive and military aspect out to these outer walls and away from the inner enclosure. Thus a better understanding of the organisation of space and design in the Outer Bailey is a study urgently needed. The publication by Lowther et al. (1993) is a more general assessment of the city's archaeological potential together with a collation of previous archaeological works. It is not intended as an analytical study of the sort I have suggested. Unfortunately the static, even fossilised nature of the development on the peninsula means that few areas are or will become available for archaeological investigation. The open areas that exist - the Cathedral precincts, the Choir School grounds and the gardens of the bailey buildings are thus the prime archaeological areas for investigation. Much, however, might also be done through a study of the records and a detailed exmaination and dating of the buildings in the area.

The second study that needs to be undertaken is that of the Watsons' histories. Dismissed contemptuously by Surtees and offhandedly referred to by Offler this document has not had the attention it deserves. It is a complex document which would take a study in itself; most of the text is very difficult to read and the some of the marginal glosses are near illegible. I have extracted only a fragment and that took a good deal of work. A serious study by someone trained in sixteenth century palaeography might reveal much more. It may only be a rehash of known documentary sources but is surely must be worth disentangling the various strands of the narrative, precisely so that they can be dismissed. The possibility of otherwise unknown source material surviving in this document must be seriously considered.

I believe that this study has demonstrated that Durham Castle is a building with an immense potential for study and research. The forthcoming programme of restoration, alterations and conservation provides a special opportunity for archaeologists and historians to examine a standing structure of this size and rank. a comprehensive schedule of study and recording would recover a great deal of information and add an outstanding database of material to the field of Medieval studies.

ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT

The detailed discussion of the origins and development of the castle has been reviewed in chapter 6. Here, a broader view will be offered.

It is suggested that the town was deliberately founded as a kind of burh as a response to Viking raids. It was a good defensive position where the relics of St Cuthbert could be protected, providing both a religious and political focus for the people of Northumbria.

For William it must have been a natural choice for a castle site, echoing his use elsewhere of peninsula/spur sites, as at Nottingham; the re-use of town earthworks as at London and Oxford or even the re-use of a Saxon burh as at Wallingford (see Tables eleven and twelve, Appendix E). The middle of the peninsula was occupied by the Cathedral which is believed to have been to the south of the present building (refer to Plan R). The town lay to the north although its expansion appears rapid; by the early eleventh century it had already spread down the hill towards the market place (Carver 1979). William might have placed the castle south of the Cathedral at the high end of the peninsula. Instead he chose the low end on the neck. Since the natural ingress to the early town was by that neck up the line of the present Saddler Street on the east side of the castle. The castle thus effectively controlled the traffic to and from the peninsula and the early town. The suggestion that he also wished to place his castle on the old seat of authority has been discussed in Chapter 6.

The use of a motte and Bailey design is assumed (see discussion in Chapter 6). The exact nature of the early layout must be in dispute until much of the courtyard area has been archaeologically examined and until the primary date of the Keep is established.

From these doubts and uncertainties Dr. Michael Thompson has suggested an alternative for the castle's development. This alternative proposal was put forward at the recent Anglo-Norman conference on Durham (Thompson 1994, forthcoming).

Thompson agrees that the buildings were primarily designed and built as a castle - that is the fortified residence of a lord. The evidence certainly wholeheartedly supports this. Most of the early works seem to have been in stone. *In situ* fragments of outer

walls can be seen on the north side of the Norman Chapel and the south side of the Low Tower and these are extremely thick - two metres or more in thickness. They give every impression of being massive defensive walls. There are clear military features in the primary building - towers on the curtain wall, such as the Low Tower, a sally-port survives in the early curtain wall on the north side of the Norman Chapel and last but not least is the Keep on its motte. It is not known whether the moat was primary but it was certainly in place by the days of Prior Laurence (ed. Raine 1880 11) and other archaeological evidence (discussed in chapter 5 and 6) suggests a branch of the moat around the motte on the courtyard side in the days of St Calais (1080 -1096). This is a clear military feature defending the castle from attack from the flat area on the south side.

Thompson argues, however, that as development proceeds, the castle moves towards a palatial function and design and almost forgets its military origins. He dismisses the assumption that the castle is an odd hybrid of castle and Palace and argues that from the days of Flambard the buildings were clearly palatial in design and function.

He points to the presence of two halls, one ceremonial, and one residential, and parallels these in English and continental palace layouts. Examples are drawn at Wolvesey, Winchester, Lincoln, Wells, and Norwich. Also, although later thirteenth century, an example at Laon.

Thompson draws a distinction between a Bishop's Palace in the close and a manorial Palace such as Bishop Auckland. He suggests that Flambard's clearance of the Palace Green area was an extension of the Cathedral Close to which the castle became a Palatial adjunct.

His scheme, however, is based on certain assumptions. He sees the Keep as the private domus as at other castles - the continuing residence of the Bishops. He suggest the North Range as having a direct connection between it and the Chapel. The latter is suggested as a double chapel, with the surviving Norman Chapel as a crypt for a relic

which the Bishops expected but never received. Hereford is cited as the parallel here and through that, to Aachen.

This last parallel is rather dubious and many I think would be unhappy with it. About the only parallel with Aachen is the fact of having one chapel over the other. The form and date of the two buildings and their internal layout is quite different, reflecting their different liturgies and function.

Hereford is also a problem. It is most often cited as the key Durham parallel, either by way of saying that the Durham Chapel is similar to Hereford in its axial layout, therefore Durham must also be a double Chapel as Hereford is. Alternatively, it is said that as Durham resembles a crypt, albeit a rather tall ornate one, there must have been a chapel over it; therefore it must be a double chapel building, a type of which can be seen at Hereford.

Unfortunately, Hereford is the only surviving double chapel building in England which distorts the argument. There was a double chapel at Bishop Auckland but its form and layout is not known (Gibson 1868, 28-44). The main development at Bishop Auckland appears to have been from the days of Du Puiset (1154 - 1195) - long after the primary period of construction at Durham. It could be argued that Auckland was imitating the existing situation at Durham Castle but this returns to the whole problem of the castle Chapel's construction.

It could be suggested that what I have labelled as Flambard's Hall is in fact St Calais' Hall and was built to go with the Chapel as an ensemble. Thompson hinted at this arrangement.

Here there is clearer evidence. The pottery from the demolition debris at the west end of the building to the south of the Chapel has been dated to the late eleventh/early twelfth century. The south building was clearly demolished to make way for the attachment of the hall to the Chapel Range. The sequence described in chapter 6 ascribes the construction of the south building to Bishop St Calais (1080 - 1096) after the construction of the Chapel. Bishop Flambard would be the demolisher of the south building, prior to the hall's construction.

The connection between the North Hall and the Chapel Range is haphazard to say the least. The Bishops left themselves with an awkward angled, splayed entrance, which came through into the south-west corner of their chapel. The evidence of the natural deposits on the North Terrace shows, I think, that they clearly had room to extend to the north a little. If the Hall and Chapel were built together and with respect to each other, it seems to me that there would clearly be room to make the whole arrangement more conventional and satisfactory. The layout at this point gives every impression of being thrown together; of an organic growth in which the later Bishops made the best of a disordered beginning.

The second part of Thompson's argument is that from the days of Flambard the castle developed according to a design more common in European palaces than in castles. This needs examination.

Firstly the concept of 'Palace' must be considered as opposed to a castle or fortified site. A castle is most usually defined as the fortified private residence of a Lord. The accent here is on the idea of 'private' separating such a fortification from the defended fortress towns of the pre-Conquest period. These were public fortifications; castles are defined as private. This, however, is a social definition and palaces by their very status would be considered by most people as private residences also.

The word 'castle' conjures up a certain image. Most people would have a hazy conception of a prominent or central tower like keep, surrounded by strong buildings of stone. The buildings would be contained within a stone curtain wall, thick and high, and bristling with mural towers. There would also be a strong gate and perhaps a moat. Buildings such as Dover, Portchester and probably Hedingham would be labelled as castles by most people. This is a late twelfth century image of the castle but one that seems to have caught hold.

"Palace" suggests grand buildings like stately homes spaciously laid out - the emphasis is on display and ostentation with windows and entrances used to good effect; towers, moats, and thick walls do not seem part of this picture. Buckingham and

Kensington at London would be people's immediate thought but Auckland would also be recognised as a palace (Plate 173).

In the Medieval period the word 'castle' applied to a group of buildings could describe a broad range of structures. Some could be fairly simple such as Eynsford, Framlingham, and Lydney (Renn 1968, 186, 192, and 237).

At the top end were the Royal castles such as Dover and London, complexes of defensive walls and towers, but also comfortable residences. The smaller castles, however, which are by far the most numerous, seem to have been largely overlooked. It seems it is the more popular definition of a castle that has influenced the development of castellology. Buildings considered castles have been examined in largely military terms. Development has been defined in terms of military evolution; by the addition and/or refinement of any of the military features described above. Stocker also recognised this bias in castle studies (1992, 415)It is only in the last ten years that the other part of a castle's function - that a castle is a residence - has been closely examined.

When castles were discussed from the military viewpoint it was assumed that the lord of the castle would live in the highest and strongest point - that is the keep. His house hold would be accommodated in the buildings below in the courtyard. I have discussed in chapters 5 and 6 the detail of the early Keep at Durham, as described by Laurence in his twelfth century poem (ed. Raine 1880). From Laurence's words I have suggested Durham's Keep as a timber building, appearing little more than a watchtower in within a stone shell. Care is needed here. The recent excavations at Hen Domen have revealed the potential complexity of a timber monument and the degree of quality to which it could aspire (Barker and Higham 1988). The description of the timber keep created for Arnould Lord of Ardres also demonstrates that the use of wood did not preclude quality or comfort. These wooden buildings also have a certain longevity. Durham's timber tower was only replaced in the fourteenth century by Hatfield (De Chambre 1839, 138); Shrewsbury's keep was left until it collapsed in 1270 (Higham 1989, 52). These presume fairly enduring structures rather than ephemeral buildings. The examples of Durham and Shrewsbury, however, suggest that these buildings did not

always have the primary residential function ascribed to them by castellologists. Certainly these two keeps were renewed less often and had less attention than buildings in their enclosures which were presumably more central to the castle's daily activities.

At Durham there were two magnificent stone buildings in the enclosure: the West Hall perhaps for feasting, and the North Hall, a ceremonial setting of some grandeur, either with well-appointed chamber blocks to each side (Elevation 24) or a double Hall with a chamber block at one end (Elevation 25). Here also was a large well constructed garderobe and in the early period, the East Range. This was another well made chamber block with high quality stone work and richly painted plaster.

All this suggests that the focus of activity and daily life was in the courtyard in and around the two stone halls and their attendant structures. The building on the motte may therefore served truly as a watch tower and as a place of last refuge in the event of attack. Durham was in a strong position and the fortifying of the peninsula with stone walls undoubtedly rendered it impregnable against all but the most serious assailants. Thus the timber keep as a last refuge may not have required the constant maintenance, renewal, and evolution, concomitant to the two halls which were the foci of the castle's daily life. Nor is Durham necessarily an eccentric castle. Founded by Royal decree and occupied by a noble and ecclesiastic, prominent in the English court, it might be expected to exhibit the common features of the day. An examination of other castles might support the wide spread use of keeps as a last refuge, rather than a daily residence. Sites that might be looked at are those where there is a wide spacious bailey as against a comparitively small motte area. Berkhamsted for example, or Carisbrooke. Also those castles like Durham where are well made halls in the enclosure, offering a comfortable alternative to the motte tower. Farnham would qualify, as would Pickering where a well made early hall in the bailey seems more attractive as a residence than the small confined stone shell on the motte. The local example would be Richmond with its early hall, the Keep attached to the Gate. The focus of living here would seem to be around the hall which was expanded with extra service rooms in the twelfth century.

The individualism of Durham Castle

In the article already referred to in the prologue, Blair pointed out connections between the wooden hall at Hereford and the palace of Henry de Blois in Winchester, suggesting that sumptuous halls became more fashionable in the twelfth century and that Hereford was one of the initiators of this fashion (Blair 1987, 59 - 72).

The hall at Hereford is believed to have been constructed by Bishop William de Vere shortly after his elevation to the see in 1186 (Blair 1987, 63). It was an aisled timber hall of four bays with a chamber block of three storeys over a basement at the south end. The main posts rose through a clerestory to tie beams at a higher level, thus creating the clerestoried timber hall. The external measurements without the chamber block were 110'/33.5m x 55'/16.7m. The southern chamber block was seen by Blair as a subsidiary chamber block over proto-services, too narrow to contain a great chamber (1987 67). Blair argues that so-called first floor halls are in fact chamber blocks which would originally have accompanied free-standing ground floor halls, citing examples at Lincoln, Wells, Canterbury and possibly Hereford. This pattern seems echoed in Durham's eleventh century arrangement with the first floor west block acting as the chamber block to the free standing ground floor East Range, which under Blair's proposal would constitute the Hall. This might explain the degree of expense lavished on the East Range with its painted plaster walls and its herring-bone patterned stone floor. Blair suggests Hereford as:

> one of the grandest domestic buildings of its day. In its planning, it marks an important stage in the transition form the typical twelfth century manor house compartmentalised into separate buildings to the standard late medieval plan with hall, chambers and services integrated under one roof. (Blair 1987, 71).

He noted other halls with storied end bays at Wolvesey (Winchester), Oakham, Bishop Auckland, and Lincoln. Interestingly he does not include Durham, suggesting that at the time of writing his article he was, like other scholars, completely unaware of the extensive twelfth century survival at Durham.

Blair paralleled the grandeur of Hereford with the palace complex of Wolvesey at Winchester, which also has some parallels with Durham. The links are not only structural parallels; the complex at Wolvesey was built by Henry de Blois (brother of King Stephen) who was related to Hugh du Puiset the builder of Durham and like that prelate enjoyed a long episcopate, in de Blois case, for 1129 - 1171 (see remarks on page 158). The description of Wolvesey follows the account given by Biddle (1969, 28 - 36).

The first period of the Norman palace consisted of two isolated blocks facing each other across an open courtyard, paralleling Durham's early phase with the East and West Ranges in a similar lay-out. At Wolvesey the two blocks are not in alignment with each other which Biddle attributed to the eastern block's preserving of the alignment from the earlier palace. At Durham the two blocks are also not in alignment. It has already been argued that the western block contains elements of the earlier palace or Earl's house and this may be the reason for the slight divergence in alignment.

The east block at Wolvesey contained the hall, an eastern annex and principal chambers at the south end and was buttressed every four metres. The hall rose through two storeys with a galleried passage at the upper level in the thickness of the wall. The hall measures 88'/26.8m x 29'/8.8m.

The west block contained the Bishop's private apartments and the great chamber and was connected with a chapel at the south end from 1135. On the east side of the east range was a square building. Again called a Keep, Biddle suggested that it was a kitchen from 1274 (1969, 35). Biddle saw this as an early Keep which was converted to a kitchen when the second Keep was built but of course this argument is unlikely to apply to Durham where the Keep was primary and pre-dates the kitchen.

Biddle saw the twelfth century history of Wolvesey as showing a development from the old type of palace with loosely grouped independent buildings towards a more integrated plan around a courtyard (1969, 36). I have already discussed the possibility of a movement in the oposite direction (pages 159-160) The integrated plan had already taken shape at Durham under Bishop Flambard well before the construction of de Blois' complex had begun. James draws parallels for Wolvesey with the palace at Old Sarum

and noted that both de Blois and Bishop Roger were also noted castle builders. He suggests that the integrated plan owed something to defensive ideas and the uncertain climate of the mid-twelfth century (James 1990, 46). In the same reference he also suggests a continental origin for the hall with its two storey chamber block although he admits there were contemporary English examples (e.g. Old Sarum). This is certainly echoed in Durham's North Range with the Hall and its two chamber blocks of three and two storeys. Unlike Hereford, there is no basement, the cellar area being apparently filled with the old earthern bank material.

Blair saw Hereford as an architectural innovation, the foremost building of its age (1987, 71). This was also Biddle's view of Wolvesey, "the personal creation of one man, who ...had few equals in his time" (1969 36). Alcock and Buckley, on the other hand consider Leicester to be a "stylistic leader" created by one who was "the most powerful man of his day in the country" (1987, 74). James suggests that the "magnificent" west hall at Lincoln palace demonstrated the "particular royal favour" shown to Hugh of Avalon (1990, 61). Clearly there are too many superlatives here and it is unnecessary to burden history with another. Du Puiset's Hall is a marvellous building, gloriously decorated but I would not suggest that it was pre-eminent. Few structures remain from the earlier twelfth century - the remains of Flambard's Hall suggest that it was a building of some pretension but furnish no clear details. None the less, it should be remembered that Westminster Hall dates from this earlier period. This, of course, is royal and in a different league to some extent. As the pre-eminent hall in England, however, it is the one nobles might be expected to envy and wish most of all to emulate.

Laurence describes the two halls at Durham in his poem as *"duo magna palatia"* (ed. Raine 1880, 11). This is usually translated as "two great/vast palaces". Did Laurence, however, see palaces in the same way as the present age perceives them? Thompson might well agree that these buildings were part of a palace. That the building on the

motte was forgotten about because the Bishops were more concerned with building a palace than fortifying a castle.

Certainly there are palatial touches at Durham. The two Halls, both of some magnificence, at right angles to each other can be paralleled at other Episcopal palaces as indeed Thompson has done. There is ostentation and display; there are grand ceremonial entrances and fine use of ornament and windows to achieve effect.

There, are however features which are inescapably of military form and defensive purpose. There are mural towers on the north side. There is a dominating tower on a motte. There are thick curtain walls, fragments of which survive in the Kitchen area and in the Norman Chapel. Another length of similar wall is buried under the Keep mound (Plan A). Finally there is the Barbican with its outer tower and moat. These are clear military and defensive features, a rigid punctuation, separating the castle from Palace Green area and the rest of the early town. It haughtily but strongly makes it point. The Inner Bailey is in the town but it is not part of it; indeed it is defended against it. The problem here is not only one of appearance but of nomenclature.

In a recent article, Dr Charles Coulson argued that licences to crenellate were generally more available than supposed (Coulson 1993, 3). Although he was talking mainly about the post-1200 situation he also applied his general remark on the use of the description "castle" to a wider meaning. Private military capacity was acceptable he argued and "aggressive ostentation was the universal aesthetic". This was more than a pretty face; fortification in the shape of serious defence also mattered. Thus in the Medieval period the term "castle" was far more widely applied. Some of these buildings were defensive, some ornamental and some both. Thus the modern appellation of "castle" or "Palace" has no bearing on how a building was seen in the Middle Ages.

This is true of Durham. Durham's two Halls are called "*Palatia*" by Laurence (ed. Raine 1880, 11). In most early documents, however, Durham is called "*Castellum*" (e.g. Matilda's charter on page 53). Auckland is called both palace and castle now; most

people would see as a palace. It seems to have been built as a relatively open plan country seat but again in documents it is usually called "*Castellum*".

Thompson suggests that a comparison with Norham castle shows up the differences between a castle and a palace built by the same Bishops i.e. Flambard and Du Puiset. In fact this comparison leads into deeper waters.

The castle at Norham was founded by Flambard (Symeon 1882, 68). It was destroyed by the Scots in the 1130s and subsequently rebuilt by du Puiset in the early 1170s, the castle being handed over to the King in 1174 (Geoffrey of Coldingham 12). There was also a major building campaign in the 1400s.

An examination of the great tower at Norham reveals that it is a complex structure of several phases (Plates 143, 144, 145, 146). There is the ashlar work using small square stones seen on the south side of the tower. There are discontinuities here, vertical and horizontal. To the west of the vertical there a horizontal discontinuity between the fabric with small square stones and the upper fabric of larger longer blocks associated with the later windows (Plate 143). To the east of the vertical break the horizontal discontinuity is seen at a much higher level. The majority of the fabric is of small square blocks associated with narrow loop windows; near the top of the building a break is seen. Above this break a lighter stone is used (Plate 144). Within the structure the same breaks are seen. The interior of the early loops on the south wall are rubble built and remind one very much of the interior of the Kitchen window at Durham (Plates 146 and 19). The west wall is entirely in the later fabric with the later openings. This is the rebuilding of the 1400s. On the east wall there is a scar of a steeply pitched roof (Plate 145). The north wall of the tower and the partition wall are largely demolished so it is difficult to be dogmatic.

Hamilton Thompson believed that the differences in stone fabric between the west and south walls was the evidence for the rebuilding by du Puiset of Flambard's original Keep (1912, 133). Armitage, however, suggested that Flambard's works at Norham were of wood and thus easily destroyed by the Scots. Du Puiset's rebuilding was in stone and discontinuities caused by subsequent alteration (Armitage 1912, 172-3).

This latter statement is followed by Michael Thompson who suggests that Norham was an earthern motte and bailey in the first instance.

For the interpretation of the building I am indebted to the forthcoming article by Dr. Philip Dixon and Pamela Marshall, who have made a special study of the great tower (1993b)

Norham's complexity has been alluded to. At first glance it looks like a standard great tower or castle keep and this is how it has been treated by earlier writers. Stripping away the later fabric and building additions, however, one is left with a rather different monument. The first phase would consist of a first floor Hall over a vault. This consisted of a single room with little domestic provision and perhaps a low end gallery. A stone bench at the east end of the hall may have been for a dais and Dr Dixon suggests that this is a public ceremonial chamber, not private living accommodation which may have been located elsewhere. There is a ground floor hall facing the great tower and Dr Dixon suggests that a twelfth century predecessor to the ground floor structure could have complemented the free standing upper hall. this is reminiscent of the development at Durham from its early period with two halls facing each other across the courtyard to the present arrangement (see Chapter 6).

Du Puiset's rebuild added a long chamber to the south of the hall with a higher private chamber above and a heightened parapet represented by the masonry on the south wall (Plate 145). Finally the squaring off of the buildings in the fifteenth century produced a "classic" great square tower. The appearance of the building in du Puiset's day is quite interesting with a heightened south-east corner, a mini-tower in its own right. This also recalls the possible heightened end section of the west Hall at Durham with its strengthened base walls for support (page 21).

Thus Norham is not a comfortable model to test Durham against since it has its own idiosyncratic development. If Norham is not a "conventional Keep", however, it could equally be argued that Durham is not a conventional Palace.

The farther afield one looks, the more one is forced to question the conventional view of castle classification. The study of Castle Acre has shown up another "conventional keep" which actually started life very differently, as a fortified country house (Coad and Streeten 1982). Hedingham also, that quintessential great tower, has been demonstrated to have been constructed to deceive and produce an effect. One sees a strong great tower; it is in fact a grand double hall (Dixon and Marshall 1993b).

Durham has been regarded as just another motte and bailey castle. References are usually brief and to the Norman Chapel and/or Norman Gallery (e.g. Allen Brown 1954; Braun 1936). Even quite recent works sometimes only mention the early keep and Laurence's description of it (e.g. Kenyon 1990). Yet there is much more to the monument and a greater survival of early fabric as this study has sought to show. Labelling Durham as a castle can be objected to. The Keep is all but ignored, not rebuilt until the fourteenth century. The Moat is allowed to silt up and the Bishops seem more concerned with their comfort and display. That is one view. Yet Thompson's view of calling it a palace will not do either. There are the military features discussed above. Most inner baileys are affected by changes in their outer bailey. Durham's outer enceinte is an enormous area and at present, relatively unknown. There are periods in which Durham is treated as a castle (e.g. the fortifying works of Bishop Hatfield); times in which it is treated as a palace and comfort is top of the agenda (e.g. Fox 1494 - 1501). In the early period it is often both (e.g. the fortifications of Flambard and du Puiset and their ornamentation and creation of the Halls).

All these examples of buildings departing from the norm are the result of recent studies. This is significant. General works on castles rely on general descriptions. A nomenclature and classification is used which has been applied for years. Scholars talk glibly of "Keeps", "Halls", castles vs. Palaces", "military vs. residential". Some people accept the appellation "Keep"; others (myself among them) are unhappy with this term.

In his article on the Hedingham tower Dr Dixon offered:

> ....a warning that though classification and typologies are essential it is first necessary to be sure of the exact nature of the structures that are so classified.
> (Dixon and Marshall 1993a, 22)

I would take this slightly further. We may have been guilty of imposing an artificial classification on the past, ignoring the wider terminology with which Medieval writers labelled these buildings. Durham Castle underlines this. If we approach it as a "castle" or label it a "palace", we are in danger of only discovering half the picture. We may find no more than we expected to see given the preconceptions with which we started. The other structures, i.e. Norham, Hedingham, and Castle Acre serve to confirm this. A re-assessment of approach is called for.

Durham is regarded by many as a well known building. This study has attempted to show that is not so and calls for its re-inclusion in the canon of Medieval buildings worthy of further examination. Its success in this latter undertaking will, I believe provide a rich untapped resource for medieval studies. If it also causes its readers to re-examine their approach to such monuments and question their use of existing terminology it will have served its purpose. It will also pay its debt in fulfilling the wishes of its long dead builders by recognising their worthy achievement.

It is ironic in this respect that Durham and Norham may be the harbingers of this reassessment for both structures, special in their own individuality, were the creation of the same two extraordinary men namely, Flambard and du Puiset. Despite the arguments on page 176, History might bear another superlative after all.

APPENDIX A

BISHOPS OF DURHAM/OWNERS OF CASTLE

The following table gives the dates of the episcopates of Bishops of Durham who were also Lords of the Castle. The two most important secular owners have been indicated in bold italic type.

1071 - 1080	Walcher	1494 - 1501	Richard Foxe
1081 - 1096	William of St Calais	1502 - 1505	William Senhouse
1099 - 1128	Ranulf Flambard	1507 - 1508	Christopher Bainbridge
1133 - 1140	Geoffrey Rufus	1509 - 1523	Thomas Ruthall
1140 - 1143	William Cumin, Usurper	1523 - 1528	Thomas Wolsey
1143 - 1152	William of St Barbe	1530 - 1559	Cuthbert Tunstall
1153 - 1195	Hugh Du Puiset	1561 - 1576	James Pilkington
1197 - 1208	Philip of Poitou	1577 - 1587	Richard Barnes
1208 - 1217	***King John***	1589 - 1595	Matthew Hutton
1217 - 1226	Richard Marsh	1595 - 1606	Tobias Matthew
1229 - 1237	Richard Poore	1606 - 1617	William James
1241 - 1249	Nicholas of Farnham	1617 - 1628	Richard Niele
1249 - 1260	Walter of Kirkham	1628	George Monteigne
1261 - 1274	Robert of Stichill	1628 - 1632	John Howson
1274 - 1283	Robert de L'isle	1632 -	Thomas Morton
1283 - 1311	Anthony Bek	- 1660	***Thomas Cromwell***
1311 - 1316	Richard of Kellawe	1660 - 1672	John Cosin
1318 - 1333	Lewis de Beaumont	1674 - 1721	Nathaniel, Lord Crewe
1333 - 1345	Richard of Bury	1721 - 1730	William Talbot
1345 - 1381	Thomas Hatfield	1730 -1750	Edward Chandler
1382 - 1388	John Fordham	1750 - 1752	Joseph Butler
1388 - 1405	Walter Skirlaw	1752 - 1771	Richard Trevor
1406 - 1437	Thomas Langley	1771 - 1787	John Egerton
1438 - 1457	Robert Neville	1787 - 1791	Thomas Thurlow
1457 - 1476	Lawrence Booth	1791 - 1826	Shute Barrington
1476 - 1483	William Dudley	1826 - 1836	William Van Mildert
1484 - 1494	John Sherwood		

APPENDIX B

THE SECONDARY SOURCES

In Chapter 3 a brief overview of the secondary sources was given. This appendix will examine the sources in slightly more detail, attempting to show the copying of one writer by another and the transmission of historical errors.

Tables Two to Six should be referred to for the lists of sources considered.

The Watsons

The histories written by the two Watsons are very curious documents which, despite the assertion of the second author, Christopher, do not seem to have ever been published.

They occur together in a single manuscript, the first three books being respectively, a series of adulatory poems addressed to Christopher Watson by R Cavend Charles Custance and Gabriel Brandon, the history by Thomas, a second, somewhat different history by Christopher, and a List of Bishops, Priors and their land holdings.

The poem appears to say little about Durham that is not in other sources but Thomas's account of Durham's history begins in book two and was written according to the date on the title page, in 1574. After a short preamble his history begins with the year 664. On comparing the entry marked 1128 against the *Historia Regum* and the *Historia Ecclesiae Dunlemensis* it is clear that it is not a straight translation of either manuscript. His translation of the paragraph mentioning Flambard's works, reads:

> The city by reason of the naturall sytte (as a place impregnable) it needid no fortification (and often besiegid as is said afore) he incompassed with goodly and stronge walles from the west end of the chirche ryghte forthe to ye castell (and sharply asailled as you herd in Byshopp Walcher's dayes, ?still in oure tym ....) which had them these of a greatt tym contaynid. Betwixt the chirche and the castell he rasid manye mantion houses and reduced it to a fayre laid plane least the chirche should (thereby) be añoid by fire or fylthe; he (shourid the knave) made many passadges for the rivour of weare and byltt a stone bridge over itt into the citie." (Watson 1574, fol. 82).

It is not clear whether he had a different exemplar, an extra source, or was merely filling out the material for the events spoken of. There are many insertions above the text and I have marked these in the above passage by italics; those words I have placed in brackets are very unclear and this was the best reading of them by the consent of the two scholars (L. Drury & J. Fewster) who assisted me in checking my transcription. This document seems to have been largely ignored, possibly due to the disparaging sarcasm of Surtees. While Offler, for example noted the existence of the Watson manuscript, he felt there was more value in the marginal asides than in the body of the text itself (Offler 1958, 3). Given the differences which appear on only a casual reading, it must surely be worth re-examining the text just to reject it firmly. The possibility of this manuscript containing original material unavailable in any other source cannot be lightly dismissed.

The text is altogether very difficult to read being written in a small very cursive form of Secretary hand. After the text covering the events of the year 1072 (folio 74), a neater hand, in a less cursive, bolder Secretary, takes over, for the next two pages and here the text is very compressed.. In the opinion of Dr Fewster who assisted me with the transcription it appears as though Thomas Watson had copied the material previous to this point out of an exemplar. At the place where the text changes, the last third of the page is written in a very compressed style but Dr Fewster believes that this is by the same writer. He suggests that Watson was here making a quick copy out of a different exemplar which would be very interesting to identify if this is in fact the case. Watson's original style of hand resumes later on folio 75 but is very shakily written with many crossings out and has the appearance of a writer who is perhaps again copying from another text but adding to it his own ideas and/or other inserts out of other documents. This hand and pen continues to the inception of Christopher's History.

While the relationship of the two Watsons is not known or stated, it is not stretching the facts to assume that they were father and son. The palaeography of the text by the elder Watson is not clear and much more work is needed on this document

before we can be sure whether the interpolations are Watson's own ideas or have been extracted from some other, earlier source.

The matter is further complicated by the title of the fourth book in the set which bears the title "Historie of Duresme", but with the addition "now first published by Christopher Watson." Is it a book that his father wrote but never published? The title of his father's book is in Latin but the text is in English. On the other hand the second book may indeed be by Christopher Watson since it is written in a rather different, flamboyant hand which is much easier to read and seems altogether more disciplined.

The identities of the two Watsons and their occupation and relationship is very interesting. The manuscript is dated to 1574, just thirty-five years after the Suppression of the monastery at Durham.

In the book entitled "A Description or Breife Declaration of all the Ancient Monuments, Rites, and Customes belonginge or beinge within the Monastical Church of Durham before the suppression. Written in 1593," (ed.Raine 1902), there is a list of the monks holding official positions in the Monastery at the time of the Suppression.

Recorded there are the names:-

Dane William Watson alias William Wyloume
Maister and Kepper of the Fereture and Deece Prior. (p. 94)

Dane Roger Watson the Terrer of the Howse. (p. 99)

Dan William Watson the Prior's Chaplaine. (p. 101)

It also recorded that the Watsons stayed on in the church after the Suppression, becoming respectively the Prebends of the Twelfth Stall and the Second Stall (Raine ed. 1902, 275 & 281). It is assumed that the two Williams mentioned as Deputy Prior and Chaplain were the same person. It should also be noted that a Thomas Watson was the Dean of the Cathedral between 1553 to 1557. Given that the latter date is just seventeen years before the date of the manuscript the two authors could well be father and son or at least elder and younger members of the same family.

Were the Watsons the historians related to the Watsons the monks? Or is this the source of their interest in the records of the old Palatinate and Diocese? Watson is of course a relatively common name but it is tempting to connect what is otherwise an elegant coincidence. In this respect it is worth noting that the style used by Christopher Watson for his history is that of a professional clerk or scribe. A probate bond exists, dated 1577 granting the office of sequestrator of the parish of Lesbury to a man named as "Christopher Watson, Clerk" (DUDASC probate bond no. 43 1577). In another document the vicar of the adjoining parish in 1586 is named also as Christopher Watson and it is evident from the first document that the man named there was in orders (DUDASC Finlay 1981, item 9). Thus, if Thomas was indeed the Dean of the same name, then both of the later Watsons were in the church as were the two who were monks before them. Could they have had access to some of the old monastic records or books?

All this is not merely academic because Watson is acknowledged by Surtees at least as a source. (Surtees 1816, 5). It is not clear, however, whether he had actually used the work or even read it. The extreme difficulty of the text together with the obscurity of the two authors seems to have stalled any serious study of this work. None the less other historians and writers may well have known of the first book while the other books may have come down to us in another form. These texts consist of the deeds of Saxon and British heroes, lists of monks, and charters. Not much of this concerns Durham but the charter lists and the list of Bishops may well have been drawn on by both Francis Thynne in his "Extracts from the Lives of the Bishops" and John Hall in his "Origin and Succession of the Bishops of Durham". Once again the importance of this work is the hand it had in transmitting information to the later writers. Errors that occur in later texts may have arisen simply from a misreading from Watson's very badly written text, or from erroneous inserts made by his assistant/editor.

In this respect the last two lines of the passage quoted above are the most important. Here the phrase "he shourid up the knave" occurs out of context in a sentence about the bridge over the river. It is precisely at this point in the paragraph that

mistakes occur in later writers, their wrongly transcribed words being invariably something to do with water or rivers. It is hard to escape the impression that while not acknowledging the fact, these writers knew of Watson's work and had used it.

Francis Thynne

The work by Francis Thynne entitled "Extracts from the Lives of the Bishops" is an odd piece. It occurs bound in a slender volume entitled "The Collections of Francis Thynne 1562". The date of the document itself however is 1595 according to the British Library Catalogue (BL Index 1984 III, 408) while Francis Thynne's Collection in the Catalogue of the Stowe manuscripts (BL Stowe, 1047) of which it is actually a part, is dated to the seventeenth century (BL Catalogue 1896 II, 345). It is said there that Francis Thynne himself was Lancaster City Herald from 1602 - 1608.

The work consists mainly of Charters and Deeds of the Bishops. He makes a brief mention of Waltheof the builder of the Castle, although not actually crediting him with that construction; notes the charter to the Burgesses by William St. Calais, and then goes straight on to Bishop Geoffrey Rufus (1133 - 1140). He notes some historical events such as the accession of Laurence to the position of Prior of Durham and also makes some asides about national history. It is very much a pot-pourri of information, some of which is lifted from Symeon, some possibly direct from surviving Charters, and some may have come from Watson's Lists of Charters, contained in the set of four books. If this is so, we can fairly safely date it as post 1574 and a date five years either side of 1600 would seem very reasonable.

Seventeenth century sources

The destruction of many sources and records in the seventeenth century has been reviewed in Chapter 3. A number of minor sources are reviewed here. They tend to copy or elaborate without reference on the works that had preceded them. Table Three is useful here.

Unknown History 1605

The first document is most elusive. It is mentioned in a list of the Exchequer Documents made in the eighteenth century. It occurs in a bundle of miscellaneous matter and is simply referred to as "A History of the Bishops of Durham 1605." It may well be the original manuscript of John Hall (discussed below) which survived to become part of the Chapter Library, but beyond this we know little of this manuscript.

Camden

Camden's account in "Britannia" is of little use. His original edition uses the text of Symeon as his basis for the history. The later edition, enlarged by Richard Gough, (Gough, 1780), is almost the same, with the addition of Leland's description from the Itinerary and a very brief (and unhelpful) description of the Castle.

Hegge

Hegge's work was written from notes made in the closing years of the sixteenth century and was an account of the miracles and superstitions of the past. None the less it does contain some historical information and cannot be entirely dismissed. Some later historians used the work (e.g. Mackenzie 1834) and it was certainly known to others. Its main importance, perhaps, lies in the edition published at Darlington in 1779 and containing Hall's "Origin and Succession of the Bishops of Durham".

Hall

This document was published in 1779 by the antiquary George Allan of Darlington as an appendix to his edition of the book by Robert Hegge. According to Allan it was taken from an original manuscript written by a certain John Hall of Consett who had made an original translation "out of the Bishops' records". Richard Gough, also mentions this compilation as being amongst the Harleian manuscripts (Gough 1780, 337).

and was heavily drawn on by later writers. Hutchinson in particular uses this work and Leland's as the fundamental basis of his work. However, that the work is fundamentally flawed cannot be doubted. In Raine's Preface to the volume *"Historia Dunelm Scriptores Tres"* (1839), he makes it clear that one of the major reasons for publishing a new text of Robert de Graystanes and William de Chambre is that Wharton's is very unreliable. Wharton himself said that he had not strictly followed his manuscript and rejected and condensed where he thought appropriate for brevity. (Raine 1839, viii).

Bishop Burnet in his "History of the Reformation" said that in places, of ten pages of the Anglia Sacra he had been sent, "There were errors in every line." He had come to this conclusion after hearing from another writer who had collated Wharton's work with earlier manuscripts. (Raine 1839, viii - ix).

After comparing the text with a manuscript preserved at York, Raine felt that "the utter worthlessness of Wharton's edition....became manifest, "and that, "in almost every instance, he (i.e. Wharton), is to blame for the deficiencies and impurities of his publication."

As far as can be seen, those parts of the text which we shall consider, seem to agree with the originals and Wharton is here cited, merely as one of Hutchinson's major sources. With his collection of the old records, albeit imperfect, a new generation was growing up. The stage was set for the first of the modern Durham histories.

The Eighteenth Century

The 18th century saw a rash of new histories and works, although it tends to be dominated in terms of source material and influence by one writer, i.e. Hutchinson. Table Four gives the list of sources discussed. It will be useful to examine Bishop Butler's Accounts as a source first, although this is out of chronological sequence. The work by Sanderson was based on those by Hunter and Cox, so these three works are best considered together.

Butler's accounts

Bishop Butler's Accounts have a limited use. They are not accounts for work actually done but rather estimates for work that the Bishop thought ought to be carried out. From the correspondence included with the accounts there was clearly a great difference of opinion between the Bishop and his surveyor as to what ought to be done and how necessary certain works were. Many of the works that were carried out were actually executed in the days of Butler's successor, Bishop Trevor (1754 - 1771), so care is needed when using this source as a dating reference.

A reference is made, for example, to the ruinous condition of the Keep - it was so dangerous in fact, that the Surveyor refused to enter it. The Accounts suggest that works were carried out to shore it up and stabilise it but these works must only have been minimal. In 1789, just over thirty-five years after the accounts were drawn up, the building was so dangerous that Bishop Thurlow ordered part of it pulled down (Clack 1985, 55 and Lambert 1796, 17).

Cox

Cox's work is an extract from his larger work *Magna Britannia et HIberna Antiqua et Nova* and is a brief history of the Palatinate with remarks. It does not seem, as the works of the previous century, to be a translation of the older authors or even a compilation of them. This is, rather, a written history, using the older source but otherwise an original text. It has the flavour of a guide book, but the Castle is not among the features described. Cox's work was certainly known to a number of later writers and Sanderson used it in his work (Gough 1780, 335) as will be seen.

Hunter

Dr. Hunter's work falls into two parts. The first, published in 1733 was an account of the "Rites of Durham" based on a manuscript in the Cosin collection (DPGL Cosin B. II 11). It differed from the version published in 1672 by John Davies of Kidwelly, which was altogether an imperfect version. Hunter's was only slightly better and the second edition of the same work was not corrected, only having a new title to distinguish it from the earlier book. The original work, "The Rites of Durham" is the source for the reference to the two Watsons as monastic officers.

In addition Dr. Hunter made collections of archives for a history and published proposals for this history in 1743. The history was never published but the proposals may have come into the hands of a later writer (see Gutch below).

Sanderson

In 1767, Sanderson, a Durham bookseller, republished Hunter's edition of "The Rites" with appended historical information. According to Raine (1842, xiii) and Gough, who saw it as "a useful pocket companion" (Gough 1780, 335), the description and history of the County were taken from Cox's *Magna Britannia*. While Sanderson has undoubtedly borrowed ideas from that work, it is also clear that some of his history has been lifted from elsewhere. Sanderson claimed that his book had been compiled from "the best authorities and original manuscripts," and cites the name of "Robert Hegge, Historian". This source does not appear to be taken from the manuscript copy, Cosin B. II 11, since there the historian's name has been written by Bishop Cosin as "Stephen Hegg".

When he quotes the already noted paragraph (Sanderson 1767, 62) about the work of Bishop Flambard on the defences of the city, he does so with a notable error. It is almost, but not quite, the same error as that printed in the "Origin and succession of the Bishops" by John Hall which work was discussed above. Here, Sanderson inserts an extra word in the River Wear sentence as Hall does but according to Sanderson's source Flambard "fortified the mound and the banks of the River Wear." (Sanderson 1767, 62) .

Hall's List was not to be published until twelve years after Sanderson had published his work so the source of the error must be elsewhere. It is possible that amongst his "original manuscripts" was the original copy of Hall although he does not cite Hall's name and one would have to assume he had miscopied the original error. Equally, his error could have come from another source which he has not given, for example the Watson manuscript which is easy to misread.

Burlington

In 1780 Burlington published "The Modern Universal Traveller". The history of the Castle is briefly given with only main events outlined. The only notice given to Bishop Flambard is that "Bishop Flambard made Palace Green" and Bishop du Puiset is cited for his rebuilding. He notes usefully that it was Lord Crewe (1674 -1721) who enlarged Tunstall's Chapel and that the same Bishop rebuilt the Keep.

Gough

Richard Gough's book is a very useful work indeed. Its titl "An Historical Account of what has been done for Illustrating the TOPOGRAPHICAL ANTIQUITIES OF DURHAM," gives the clue that it is a compiled list of documents and earlier histories concerned with Durham's past.

He notes the collections made by Hunter for his unpublished history and tells us that the materials for it are now in the Dean and Chapter's office. He also records other collections of papers such as those made by Spearman and Allan. He notes the publication of Hunter's work on the "Rites" and gives the opinion that Sanderson's work is a copy of this. As has been shown, this is probably mistaken but other authors have followed Gough's remarks (e.g. Raine 1842, xiii).

In addition he gives comments on Hegge, the List of the Bishops by Hall, and a useful compilation of known drawings of the Cathedral and Castle. Among these last, the drawings by Bok, Buck, and Forster are noted, apparently at that time in the library of the Society of Antiquaries at London.

Gutch

Gutch's work is, as its subtitle explains, a collection of *miscellaneous pieces relating* to Britain's past, from the manuscript collection of Archbishop Sancroft, which had been deposited in the Bodleian Library. Sancroft had been associated with Durham through his friendship with Bishop Cosin.

Gutch also tells us that Wharton was fully acquainted with the Sancroft collection (Gutch 1781, xxxiii). The tenth piece list in Gutch's work is called "An Introduction to the History and Antiquities of the Antient County Palatine and Bishoprick of Durham, and other Places in the Northern Parts."

A note in the margin states that this work has been drawn from a manuscript of Mr. Carte in the Bodleian, while a note below states that the manuscript has been corrected throughout by Mr. Carte himself (Gutch 1781, iii).

The account begins with what seems to be a preliminary layout for a history of Durham that was never published. It would be very interesting to compare this with the layout for the history which was never published by Hunter, if indeed his manuscript still exists. It is curious to have two such outlined, unpublished histories in the same generation and it is tempting to wonder if Carte had got hold of Hunter's work or vice versa.

Gutch's book goes on to examine the Boldon Book and inserts some notices of it from Gough's work which was discussed above. It then launches straight into a list of documents without reference or explanation but it would appear to have some relation to the scheme of the preliminary layout. In that part of the document, Gutch proposes to make a list of the evidences available both at the Palatinate Chancery Office and in the Public Records. The list of sources that follow appear to be of such material and are very reminiscent of the 18th century document (Hardy 1854, appendix 3) detailing the records surviving at Chancery and in Durham generally (Gutch 1781, 93-97).

However, they are unlikely to be describing the same material. Later in the book, Gutch details a second list of documents, which he claims are those surviving in the Chancery Office at Durham. A comparison of the material described by Gutch with that described by Hardy reveals many differences between the two collections.

Gutch (or Carte) then lays out a scheme for discussing the nature of records and their value. He then does the same for histories, during which discussion he mentions the work of Hegge, showing that, for all the contempt that later ages poured upon it, it none the less had a far reaching and widespread influence.

The text next discusses the stone monuments to be seen in the Cathedral and the manuscript collections available at Durham itself. Here valuable cross references can be made with the account of Gough on the same matter. Gough himself is mentioned in the list of additional subscribers.

In many cases the manuscript is in the first person but whether it is Gutch the compiler, who is speaking, Sancroft to whom the collection belonged, or the Mr. Carte who is said to have corrected the work, is uncertain. In one such instance, the speaker makes an intriguing reference in a letter, to a mutual friend in London who:-

> ...is of our County Durham, and has bestowed some pains in inquiring into the antiquities of the County and Church of Durham; and... has endeavoured to inform himself of the manuscripts now extant.....whereof he has found many in the Cotton Library at London and the Bodleian Library at Oxford and other our publick Libraries here; which he has carefully searched with those at Durham.. (Gutch 1781, 113 - 115).

This very interesting but unnamed historical researcher may well have been Hutchinson whose own history was published just four years later. He was also at pains to inquire after the book known as the *"Liber Summi vel magni Altaris"* or otherwise the "Red book of Durham". This work reputedly contained all the endowments of the Church at Durham and was kept chained upon the High Altar. Supposedly very ancient and written before the Conquest, it is also believed to be one of the primary sources for

Symeon's History, although for that part of the history prior to the period which this study is concerned with (Craster 1925, 504 -532).

After briefly surveying the various evidences surviving of the older County families, and in the Courts and the Tower of London, Gutch gives a very useful account of the records still surviving in the Chancery Office at Durham. From this account it would appear that Gutch's list given earlier in the document, and referred to above, is of records surviving at some other, unspecified place. Despite the destruction of the Cosin records by Mr. Jackson, evidently many of the older Palatinate records still survived at that time. One notable absence is that of the "History of the Lives of the Bishops" dated 1605 mentioned as being with these papers in an earlier list. It can be assumed that this was indeed a copy of "The Origin and Succession of the Bishops" by Hall and that it had by 1777 been removed to the Chapter Library where it was seen by George Allan who subsequently published it.

Hutchinson

Hutchinson's three volume work published between 1785 and 1787 is the major history upon which later works are based. Hutchinson (1732 - 1814) was an attorney in Barnard Castle. His first antiquarian work was published in the 1770s with a second enlarged edition in 1776 of "A Tour through the Northern Counties."

Richard Gough was unimpressed and called it "A hasty crude performance with little information and in a quaint style" (Gough 1780, 313). It went down well with the public, however, and in 1778 Hutchinson published another work, on Northumberland. This work contained a statement of purpose by Hutchinson which Birley in his introduction to Surtees thought could equally well be applied to the volumes on Durham (Birley 1972, vi) .

Hutchinson explained his purpose as:-

> A desire of collecting into one view, the observations and opinions of former works on the History and Antiquity of Northumberland, first induced me to make this compilation for such with the utmost deference, I must call it.
> The utility of a work of this kind, to the generality of readers is obvious; as a competent knowledge of the county may be attained, without the labour and expence of turning over many volumes from whence my authorities were deducted. I have added descriptions of remarkable objects, in their present state, with drawings of some of the principal ones; and have endeavoured to maintain a strict impartiality through the whole.
> There are interspersed through the work, many original papers, found among the manuscripts of the late Antiquary Roger Gale Esq.; communicated to me by a particular friend; in which the reader will find several observations made by him and his learned correspondents on the Antiquities of this county, never before published.

The 'particular friend' was the publisher George Allan the Elder who had a collection of manuscripts, which, as we know from Gough and elsewhere, was very comprehensive. These he made available to Hutchinson and they appear to have included Grimm's original drawing of the Norman Chapel (see Chapter 6), and the manuscript of John Hall with its concomitant mistakes. Quite possibly the "friend" mentioned by Gutch was either Hutchinson or Allan; neither lived at London but either might have gone there in search of manuscripts of the county histories.

Hutchinson himself was not without error. Despite his two references to Henry of Huntingdon describing the Castle as constructed "de novo" (Hutchinson 1785 I 113 & II 283), I have been unable to trace any statement concerning the castle in Huntingdon's Chronicle for the years 1071 -1073. Hutchinson himself, however, was aware of the shortcomings of his Durham History, despite its greater extent than anything that had preceded it. He says in the introduction:-

> A multitude of records lies before me for the present work: it is a field in which I am the first adventurer:- the toil of arranging such a chaos of materials will, I flatter myself, prevail with very liberal minds to overlook errors and inadvertencies into which I may have fallen. So far as progress is made, I have at least opened the passage to some abler pen, that may perfect the work.

Despite its dubious claim to open the way, Hutchinson's volumes were the first popular comprehensive account of Durham from the early bishops of Lindisfarne through to its present day. They included not only an account of bishops' lives but also of their works and attempted at the same time to relate all of the material to the history of the Kings, giving Durham a national perspective. He drew heavily for his main sources on the accounts of Symeon, Leland, and Wharton but also seems to have quoted material from other works that he has not referenced. In terms of observations or additions, "never before published" he has filled out certain details that were lacking or obscure in his sources with ideas or inspired guesses. His work was enormously influential and many facts, received as such by the modern age, had their beginnings in some speculation or guess by Hutchinson.

Lambert

Lambert's history is less useful as a literary source. It seems to have been a piece of unsolicited flattery for the bishop, Barrington (1791 - 1826). It purports to describe the buildings of the Castle and to ascribe them to builders. From a careful reading of the text it is likely that Lambert never actually got inside the castle and was reduced to describing the buildings from the outside. Most of his historical data are lifted from Hutchinson whom he quotes liberally.

Hutchinson in his introduction acknowledges a "Mr. Lambert of Durham for several drawings and monumental inscriptions." While the identification of the two Lamberts is not exact, one is put mind of the drawings of the Castle and buildings in the City that appear as an appendix to Lambert's history (Plate 89).

Lambert's sense of architectural history was also very poor and he seems to have forgotten to check in Hutchinson when he came to construct his chronological table for the buildings. He ascribes the Keep to William the Conqueror, for example, and the Black Stairs to Bishop Tunstall (1530 - 1559).

Nineteenth century sources

Durham's history is well covered in the 19th century and only the major sources are listed in Table Five.

Surtees

In his Introduction to the 1972 edition of Surtees' County History of Durham, Eric Birley opined that everything that Surtees had written improved on Hutchinson's work. Rather than being a "rival" to Hutchinson, which William Page had called him, (V.C.H. 1928 I, Introduction) Birley saw Surtees as Hutchinson's superseder (Birley 1972, xx).

Despite his prominence amongst the list of county historians, Surtees cannot be regarded as a major source for the early Castle, although he does include some useful information. Unfortunately, rather than include an account of the Castle in his major work, Surtees decided to write a separate history, dealing with the Castle in more detail. This history was never published and seems not even to have survived in note form. In his main work, Surtees does acknowledge his debt to past historians and mentions both Christopher Watson and Hutchinson by name. In his Introduction, Hutchinson acknowledges a "Mr. Surtees of Mainsforth for some curious drawings." This was Robert's father whose name appears on the list of Hutchinson's subscribers. James Raine noted that the Hutchinson volumes at Mainsforth had been heavily annotated by the younger Surtees. Surtees and Hutchinson were related distantly by marriage - Hutchinson's uncle married Robert's great-aunt (Boyle, 1890).

Surtees' work starts by noting the four "Bookes of Durham History by C(hristopher) W(atson), Deira Grantus Ao 1573-4." This is in fact the title of the last book in the series and Surtees does not seem to realise that the books were written by a number of people. He did have a slightly amused contempt for the purple prose of Christopher's book, which he illustrates by quoting the full title. He does, however, register the Watsons as a source and is, I believe, the only writer to have done so apart from Offler (1958, 3) although others may have used the work (Surtees 1816, I 5). His description of Flambard's works is freer in form than others but he does claim that "a

moat was added to the defence of the fortress" and that Flambard "strengthened the banks of the river." (Surtees 1816, xx). The same mistakes appearing here suggest that despite his poor opinion of Watson's work he used at least some of it.

Surtees also acknowledges the Mickleton and Spearman Collections, their pamphlet "An Enquiry etc." (Spearman 1729), and the works of Leland and Camden. He notes the 1732 edition of Symeon, and the collections of George Allan at Darlington. He then says, either mistakenly or unfairly, that Hutchinson's History was founded "almost entirely on the copious materials presently at the Grange" the residence of the antiquary George Allan. While Hutchinson was undoubtedly indebted to his friend George Allan, clearly he also used other sources. Surtees acknowledges his great debt to Hutchinson's work but feels that, compiled as it was by a "professional" gentleman, Hutchinson had not the full time for application and therefore errors had crept in and material had been left out.

While Hutchinson discussed the relationship of William the Conqueror to the Castle and Keep mound he did not use the form "owed its origin to the Conqueror". This phrase which was invented by Lambert, was quoted verbatim by Surtees, which suggests that although not acknowledging the fact, Surtees had read Lambert's book.

Mackenzie

The work by Eneas Mackenzie is of little use except to demonstrate where errors in later writers may have their source. The same coyness in acknowledging Lambert's work occurs here also. Most of Mackenzie's work is lifted piecemeal out of either Hutchinson or Lambert and he quotes many of the errors by the latter author. He also mentions Hegge as one of his sources (Mackenzie 1834 I, xxi).

Fordyce

Fordyce is even less use as a source except for some asides he makes about Salvin's contemporary alterations and works in the Castle (Fordyce 1857 I, 289). His shorter account of the Castle is otherwise a near verbatim copy of Mackenzie's work. This need

hardly surprise us since he quotes "the talented compilation of Eneas Mackenzie" in his list of sources, as being "next in order after Mr. Hutchinson". He also notes the works by Symeon, Sanderson, the "more elaborate work" of Surtees, and the Collections of George and Robert Allan at The Grange. He has no time for Hegge, although it is clear that Mackenzie has used him.

Boyle

Boyle gives two accounts of the castle, one in the periodical "Monthly Lore and Legend" which includes a drawing of the Great Hall (Boyle 1890), and one in his own County History (Boyle 1892). The earlier account in the periodical agrees closely with that in his history and was probably drawn from the draft of it.

Boyle's history does include some material in his side remarks which are not found in any other author. Invariably these are unreferenced and most are untraceable so while they may provide some circumstantial evidence, they cannot be used in any strong historic proof. He also gives the first historical notice of the Undercroft under the Great Hall of the Castle and furnishes some interesting details on it which are discussed in Chapter 1, page 19 (Boyle 1892, 170).

Twentieth century sources

The main sources of the 20th century are either writings by the former Master of University College (Dr. Gee), or connected with the restoration of the Castle in the 1930's. They are listed on Table Six.

Gee

Gee wrote the text for the Victoria County History volume on the castle which was published in 1928 (Gee 1928, 64 -93) Gee's unpublished notes for this history are also very useful, since he made use of his position as Master of the College to explore the Castle's archaeology. He evidently published no detailed articles on this work however, and from a reference made in a contemporary letter, it seems the work was carried out fairly clandestinely (Greenwell and Hodges 1886 -1908 No.22). He also in his writings gives us some idea of the contemporary works being carried out at the Castle. (e.g. Gee 1904 17).

Jones

Gee's architect, Jones, can likewise shed some light, concerned as he was with some early major stabilisation work on the buildings. He gives us information especially on the nature of the deposits which lie beneath the courtyard and the remains beneath the floors of the North building (Greenwell and Hodges Correspondence 1886 - 1908). He wrote a series of articles on the city defences which shed some light on the Castle defences (1922).

Conyers-Surtees

The guide by Conyers-Surtees (1928) is a great disappointment. Ostensibly presented as the history of the castle, his ancestor R.S. Surtees, had meant to write, it is in fact little more than a transcription of the existing Castle Guide, which had been written by Henry Gee.

There is surprisingly little record of the work carried out in the 1930's as major restoration and stabilisation, especially on the North Range. It is clear from Gee's references in Letter 16 that much of the photographic and visual record of the 1902-4 work has been lost (Greenwell & Hodges Correspondence 1868-1908). There seems to be a similar remarkable absence from the later work. We have the drawings made from 1929 - 1938 to aid the work and these give some information about what was done. In addition, the various articles that exist at local and national level, written in support of the restoration costs, make some references as to what was carried out. None the less we remain in ignorance of many details.

The Greenwell and Hodges Correspondence

This group of letters date between 1886 and 1908 and was recently acquired by Durham Cathedral Chapter Library. The authors are a number of people prominent in the Durham local history scene at that time and the subjects range around various works on and aspects of the Cathedral and Castle. Their flavour is that of lovers of history chatting about topics of mutual interest and they yield some useful information especially about Gee's archaeological investigations at the castle.

APPENDIX C

THE EARLY VISUAL RECORD

The dividing date of the chapters concerned with the visual record has been set more or less to match the same division that occurs in the historical record. 1750 marks the episcopacy of Bishop Butler, followed by that of Trevor. As Chapter 4 has indicated, this period saw many quite major changes to the appearance of the castle, and hence created a division in the visual record. The pre-/early eighteenth century artists often recorded details in the buildings which, if not orderly or refined, none the less say a great deal about the structure and its appearance before these changes took place. Chapter 4 gives a brief overview and relates the visual clues in the paintings to the standing evidence. In this Appendix the paintings will be described in detail with reference to the standing buildings and attempts made to detect where one artist has simply copied another. Table Seven lists the works to be discussed in this Appendix.

Some of the paintings at the castle which include a number of works depicting the castle in the pre-1832 period may be identified from a list given by Boyle in his County Guide (Boyle 1892 185 - 189). He, unfortunately only gives the date of a painting occasionally and the artist even more rarely. Thus identifications between the list and the surviving pictures can only be made on a tentative basis.

Cross referencing to Boyle's list can be carried out, however, with three lists of the castle pictures, preserved in pamphlet form in the Local Collection of the University of Durham. The earliest is dated 1836, and the latest 1875. there is also an incomplete list dated to 1874 but this would seem to be a preliminary to the fuller list of 1875. The first list was presumably made for the University who took the building over in 1836, just before it became a Hall of Residence in 1837.

There are some major differences between this list and the 1875 version without any explanation on the later list as to where the missing paintings and prints have gone. However, those paintings that are discussed in this chapter occur on both lists as well as in

Boyle's guide. Where possible and where identification is fairly sure, the number of the painting on all three lists will be given.

Patteson (Plate 91)

The pictorial record of the castle would seem to begin with the publication of a map of the city of Durham in 1595 by Matth(ew) Patteson.

This is a perspective map and the buildings are generally depicted as small boxes with gabled roofs. Public buildings, however, are shown larger and some details can be made out. The representation of the castle shows the Keep on an unstepped conical mound with three large conical towers at the base to the west of it. The gateway is only hinted at. All the city's churches, including the Cathedral but excluding St. Nicholas, are shown with round towers as a convention.

Of interest is a fourth, lower and smaller, conical tower which may be seen, well below the main buildings of the castle's Inner Bailey, but definitely separate from that tower which defended the old gateway on Framwellgate bridge and which was demolished in 1760.

The possibility must be raised that this is one of the lost towers which Hutchinson claims to have seen on the west side in 1785 and attributed to Flambard(Hutchinson 1785 II 284). Hutchinson's reference is confusing and at times it is not clear whether he is talking about Elvet or Framwellgate bridge. Both bridges were very similar and both were defended by gate towers. However, his claim that the towers, of which these were the remnants, were built to command the pass from the bridge into the borough, fortifying the moat, very much implies that they were on the west side below the present North Range (see Chapter 4).

Speed

The second early map of the city was made by the cartographer John Speed in 1611. Despite its label of "one of the most accomplished" in Speed's work (Nicholson & Hawkyard 1988, 73), there can be no doubt that is in fact a copy or version of Patteson's

original. Not only is the whole aspect of the town identical, but even major buildings and street layouts are so close in form and detail that the similarities seem more than coincidental. In Speed's map, however, St. Nicholas and St. Giles are shown with a square tower, as is also the tower on Elvet bridge. In support of Speed's having copied must be added the fact that Patteson's map was drawn by Christofer Schwytzer, probably from Zurich, a man who in John Speed's opinion was "the most exquisite and curious hand of our age." This adulation seems not to have spread as far as acknowledging Patteson in his mapbook.

In Speed's map the fourth tower below and to the west of the castle is shown very clearly, as is again its distinction from the Framwellgate bridge tower. The importance of this picture is in backing up Hutchinson's statement that he saw remains of a tower lower down on the west side. The details of the tiny tower portrayed on Patteson's and Speed's maps suggest little but its presence on their maps would seem to confirm that they also saw some sort of construction here on the lower west side and that, it was still apparently standing at the close of the sixteenth century.

The Rites of Durham

One document that should be disposed of fairly swiftly here is a map made for the "Rites of Durham" volume in the Surtees Society collection. Supposedly a map of Durham in the early sixteenth century, it is in fact little more than a modern map of the buildings and streets with presumed medieval names overlaid. The plan of the castle is primitive and includes many features, that did not, in fact, exist until the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, such as the stepped Keep mound, the Junction buildings and the Kitchen Servery.

Map de Durham

In the catalogue of the additional manuscripts of the British Library there is a mention of a "Map de Durham" printed in France in 1650 (BL MS ADD 11654). The map is hand

drawn and painted and the first impression one receives is of a map very similar in style and depiction to Patteson's and Speed's.

Most towers are here depicted as round, excluding however, the central tower of the Cathedral, the towers of St. Nicholas, St. Giles, and St. Margaret's, and the towers on the bridges. All the openings on this map are shown as Romanesque as on the Speed plan and unlike Patteson, where the Keep windows are shown as rectangular. In this French version there appears to be an opening in a vague Renaissance style in the south side of the Keep and facing the Cathedral. The Chapel building is not depicted. and nothing in the way of towers is depicted on the west side but the North Range is drawn with four curious round projections on the corners.

Merian

Similarly, in the catalogue of the Maps and Prints section of the same institution (BL Maps 28.bb.13) there is a map noted as *Dunelmum D.* by "M. Merian" and recorded as made in Frankfurt, possibly around 1650. This would appear to be a version of the same perspective map as discussed above. Here it is engraved rather than a hand painted print but displays many of the features of the French map save that the central tower of the Cathedral is depicted as round, and the Exchequer building is also drawn as including two conical towers. The towers on Elvet Bridge are very scrappily drawn. These features give the impression that the artist had borrowed some details from Speed's map rather than just produced a shoddy copy of the French map. No low door is depicted in the south wall of the Keep but there is more detail in the market place and the west tower of the castle, shown so clearly in Speed, is absent in Merian.

Bok (Plate 92)

Bok's drawing has been discussed in Chapter 4.

The black and white view from the north-west (Plate 93)

One of the main sources of visual evidence for this period, i.e. before the changes made by the eighteenth century Bishops, is a curious pair of paintings still in the castle collection. One, hanging near the top of the Black Staircase, is executed in a most peculiar black and white style and would seem to be little more than a prototype for the other, colour, version which hangs on the landing by the Norman doorway on the Tunstall Gallery. There are slight differences between the two and both must be examined.

The black and white version cannot be safely identified from Boyle's list. It may have been hung on the staircase only recently but if it has always been in its position at the top of the Black Stairs, then it is likely to be either the painting numbered as one or that numbered as five on page 187 of Boyle's County Guide (1892). Otherwise it may be that referred to as "executed in the last century" on page 185 of the same work. The painting numbered 31 and said to be "On Great Staircase...Standing on landing at top," i.e. the place where the painting is today, is described in the 1836 list as "Prospect of the City of Durham from the N.W." The 1874 list simply makes a reference to:

> the other views of Durham that hang on the Black Staircase: the best of them display but little artistic skill and some are very incorrect with a total absence of anything like perspective.

The 1875 list only listed one view of Durham and that was said to be in the Hall. The first impression of the painting is of a fairly crude work with a very odd perspective, showing both the north and the west sides side on, giving a fairly flat appearance to the building. The Keep is shown intact and maintained so the date should be either before 1789 when Bishop Thurlow ordered the top part pulled down or after 1846 when it was rebuilt. Openings of some kind can be seen in the side of the Keep mound - three in all. One opening is set in each terrace and as no division is made into panes of glass as is shown in the windows in the painting, these openings are probably meant to represent doors of some kind. If this is an accurate depiction, their great interest lies in the fact that the lower

two "doors" would give access onto levels below the Keep which are not now accessible and about which nothing is now known.

The North Terrace is shown as a garden promenade and figures are seen there walking. All the windows are shown as rectangular in seventeenth century style with small panes of glass. No hood mouldings are shown. The door to the North Terrace is equally shown square and plain, almost in French window style. Two windows are drawn on King John's Tower, both on the north side of the tower and in the same style as the windows on the north side of the range, overlooking the North Terrace.

The west end of the North Hall is shown side-on. There is no hint at all of the Romanesque windows that surive at this end of the Hall; again the windows are depicted in the same severe plain seventeenth century style as on the north side of the range. From this evidence it is difficult to know how far to trust the drawing of the north side. It is possible that the date of the painting is after 1754 and that the artist has simply ignored the two Gothic windows inserted by Bishop Trevor to give a more even effect. It seems peculiar to extend this to the west end of the North Hall but as far as is known the Romanesque windows, despite some restoration, are substantially original.

The cupola on the top of the Black Stairs can be seen as can the tops of the Cosin buttresses on the east side of the Great Hall so the date of the painting would seem to be after 1665, the date of the Staircase's construction. The garderobe passage in the angle between the North Hall and the Great Hall is not shown so there has evidently been some editing of the picture to suit the artist's taste. The window has fourteenth century tracery and was presumably one of Bishop Hatfield's alterations to the edifice (1345 - 1381).

The double windows of the Black Parlour are clearly visible at the north end of the Great Hall on the west side. These are also shown as square as are those on the north side of the castle but in this instance some independent evidence is available in the form of the Forster drawing which is discussed below. However, other views (e.g. Carter 1795 and Billings 1846), show these windows at the north end of the west side of the Great Hall, as Gothic in style but it is equally possible that they were altered by Bishop

Trevor(1752 - 1771), after this painting was executed. The other hall windows are shown as similar to the surviving Bek window on the west side.

The west side is shown in the old pre-servery style (i.e. pre-Bishop Butler 1752 - 1771). The building at the north end of the lower west range is shown with a pitched roof as in other depictions (e.g. Forster 1754) and also with doors at the north end. The West Range is shown as one block drawn rather square and flat with two levels of plain windows. One of these levels is lower than anything in the castle at the present time and once again invites speculation that there may be sealed or closed levels within the building that are not now accessible.

The Kitchen Tower and towers on the west side of the building appear to be copies of each other even down to the windows, as if the artist could not be bothered to go into elaborate detail and considered that the north aspect of the castle was more important. Again it gives very much the impression of a first attempt or an unfinished drawing.

The colour view of the north-west side (Plate 94)

The colour version is much more clearly a finished work, strengthening the impression that the black and white painting was simply a sketch or prototype. The overall impression is very similar and the whole is much tidier but there are differences. No painting of this description is mentioned in the 1874, 1875 or Boyle 1892 lists. One described as "View of Durham Cathedral and castle", and numbered 40, is on the 1836 list and is there said to be precisely in the position in which the painting under discussion is at present hung.

The Keep is the same in both versions but in the colour painting it is more evidently intact and there are only two lower doors shown in the Keep mound and the topmost is not drawn. Here they are not so clearly drawn and seem more ephemeral features. Evidently that the artist is striving for an effect in this second painting and the architectural accuracy is less important. There is no sign of any round headed windows in the Keep as shown on other drawings (discussed below).

The North Terrace is more evident here as a lawn promenade but the same figures as in the first painting are seen in the same positions and poses as the first painting - perhaps the patron and his friends. The figures in both paintings are very small and it is difficult to make out details or styles of dress which might assist in dating the works. From what can be seen, a date in the late seventeenth century or early eighteenth century would seem the most likely.

There is more of an attempt in the colour version to depict the Kitchen Tower and the arrangement of buildings around it correctly. Fox's Turret is somewhat blurred but the building with the pitched roof is clearly visible with both a door at the north end and two windows on the west side being shown. There is a some attempt to depict the small adjunct attached to the west side of the Great Hall and on the site of the present servery.

The towers below the Great Hall on the west side and the buildings of the West Range are depicted as a jumble and details are difficult to make out. The view from South Street and Forster's drawings (discussed below), make this random arrangement of the structures more apparent still. The lowest level of windows depicted on the west side is only shown on the tower below the West Courtyard (herein referred to as the "Long Tower"), and not also on the Kitchen Tower as in the painting above. The Fellow's Garden is clearly painted as an ornamental formal garden and here the artist has taken some pains.

The balcony is shown much more clearly at the north end of the Great Hall, properly drawn and also shown as supported on a slender column to the terrace. This may identify the painting. Listed as number five in Boyle's list (1892, 187), is:-

> A view of Durham, painted in the seventeenth century. The view is taken from below Framwellgate Bridge, and shows the Cathedral, the castle, with a curious wooden balcony outside the north end of the Great Hall, and a house on Framwellgate Bridge.

How far his dating may be trusted is another matter. If the internal evidence of the picture were taken on face value, then the evidence of the North Terrace alone would incline us to date the picture to before the time of Bishop Trevor(1752 - 1771), and the alterations to what became the Bishop's dining Room in the North Range. However, it was

demonstrated in the view discussed above, that the artist was quite capable of moulding the painting to his desired effect although it must also be noted that the architectural details in the colour version are more accurate than that those of the prototype. If the painting was made for the figures shown on the North Terrace, one of those could be assumed to be the Bishop. However, if it had been Bishop Trevor the painting might be expected to give prominence to the two Gothic windows which were part of the new dining room designed for the Bishop by Sanderson Miller in 1752.

The painting instead seems to reserve its best colour and effect for the North Terrace and the Fellows' Garden. The former, indeed, seems to be the focus of the picture. The painting is certainly executed after the start of the alterations made by Bishop Cosin (1660 - 1672) since details of construction that he added to the building are very clear. Boyle may well be right that the painting was commissioned in the seventeenth century. It may have been painted for Bishop Cosin to show off the aspect of his new North Terrace and the Romanesque windows at the west end of the North Range were simply altered to conform to the rest of his Lordship's scheme. This would make this painting the earliest depiction, that survives, in which the castle features as the main subject.

The black and white courtyard view (Plate 96)

The most complete view of the courtyard which survives from this period hangs at present in the College offices. This apparently complements the black and white painting discussed above and is dated by the V.C.H. to circa 1700 AD although no authority is given for this view.

Boyle, in his list (1892, 189), notes a painting, then in the Senate Ante-room, as "A view of Durham castle from the Palace Green painted towards the end of the seventeenth century"

As usual, Boyle also gives no authority for his date but it may have been derived from the internal details of the work. This could well be the same painting as the one illustrated in the Victoria County History and now in the office of the present Master of

the College that he is talking about. Despite the title of the work, it appears to be that painting numbered 92 in the 1836 list but at that time said to be in the Black Parlour at the North end of the Great Hall. The reference says:-

> Durham castle and Cathedral small - This view is valuable as marking the architecture of the castle between Bishop Cosin and Trevor's alterations when the entire walls of this Keep were standing - Coach with 6 black horses and two outriders at the Hall Doors.

The coach and horses are clearly seen in the painting making the identification with the 1836 list almost definite and may also date the painting to the time of Lord Crewe (see below). The painting does not appear to be listed on either the 1874 or 1875 lists. The Gatehouse is depicted as it was before the restorations of James Wyatt, with a cupola above the gate, and projecting towers, but the vestigial Norman windows depicted in Grimm's drawing (discussed below), are not shown. The upper windows are both rectangular in form and are shown as definitely different having a slight resemblance to the Grimm drawing (Plate 104). The wall to the east, adjoining the Keep, is shown as a high wall from the level of the top of the Gatetower to the Keep, virtually in a straight line. A door is visible in the wall at its base just east of the eastern projecting tower of the Gatehouse itself but the wall is otherwise depicted without monumental features, blocked or otherwise.

The Keep is shown as intact and not evidently in disrepair; it may be still roofed. The historical evidence may help with the dating here since we know that the Keep was repaired in the days of Lord Crewe (1674 - 1721) as was evidenced by the dedication stone found on its side when it was rebuilt in 1846. It is not known however, what purpose the building was being used for in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The wall between the Gatehouse and Garden Stairs is of great interest. Three rectangular windows appear in the wall but appear to be lit by the light from the courtyard behind. The windows are in the form used by both Bishops Tunstall (1530 - 1559) and Cosin (1660 - 1672) and since Cosin deliberately medievalised his architectural features, it is difficult to distinguish between the two. The roof of a building is not shown and there

is no suggestion of one. It would be tempting to regard these as the windows which Gee claimed could be seen in the wall as late as 1928 and which also appear in the early view, discussed above. It might serve to confirm the claim that foundations of a building were seen at this point in the courtyard in 1904 (Gee 1928 70).

The Kitchen Tower, Garden Stairs, and the Low Tower are shown very much as they are now. Interestingly, at the base of the Great Hall there is some suggestion of the Undercroft windows which survive at the north end of that room and also of the north-west entrance which now gives onto the West Courtyard Tunnel but would presumably at that time have given access to the building with the pitched roof shown on the west side in other drawings. This appears to be the earliest pictorial evidence for the existence and use of the Undercroft under the Great Hall.

The Black Stairs cupola is evident. The Norman Gallery windows as depicted here are clearly Norman. They are shown as windows of two lights divided by a column with plain cushion capitals and very much resemble the surviving examples which are now found opening onto the Black Staircase at the level of the Norman Gallery.

The windows below this set but still above the Tunstall Gallery are shown as a full set where only two survive in use today. The others, as has been mentioned in chapter 2 are now hidden behind paintings in the Senior Common Room. In the painting the windows at this level are all shown as round headed, very plain, no hood moulding, and little attempt to render any style.

Another aspect of great interest in this painting is the area to the north-east where the Chapel building stands. At this period the rearrangement into the Senate Room would have already taken place. The painting shows clearly, however, that the present set of buildings on the site of the Keep Junction did not then exist. At the east end of the Old Chapel a curious narrow projecting room or gallery can be seen, It is shown at right angles to the Chapel building, one storey high and having an acutely pitched roof.

Behind the Old Chapel building a wall walk can be seen which evidently connected with the long single width stairway leading up to the Keep, where the present Junction buildings are. This may be the "bridge" described by Laurence of Durham (ed. Raine

1880, 11) said there to give access from the "house to the battlements". The westernmost window in the upper storey of the Old Chapel building is shown as having a gabled hood moulding but it is crudely drawn and difficult to make anything of it.

The painting is executed in the same rather flat style as the two versions of the North Terrace discussed above and there can be little doubt these paintings are three works by the same artist. The two viewsof the castle give every impression of having been painted as a pair, either as a gift or a commission. Their internal evidence would seem to date them to after the great changes put in force in the late seventeenth century by Bishop Cosin giving a terminus post quem of 1660, the start of his episcopate. The paintings in question then may have been intended perhaps to show off his new works. If this is so, the view from the South is interesting. The North view emphasises the Terrace and the Gardens as might be expected. On the South one might expect to see prominence given to The Black Stair Tower or perhaps the great stone portico which Cosin had added to the Great Hall. In fact, the focus seems to be the Gate Tower and the new approach from Palace Green. These features appear to have been remodelled in the seventeenth century (Appendix K) but it is not clear that Cosin was responsible. This dating of the painting, however, must be examined.

The black and white courtyard view is followed in Boyle's list by painting number six which is simply called "View of a mansion" (Boyle 1892, 189). There is such a picture hanging at the castle and it is evidently by the same artist as the views of the castle discussed above. The mansion has a very similar wooden balcony to that on the north-west views of the castle and it may be the colour version of this view of the castle that Boyle is referring to in his list. The black and white version has a similar balcony, although very hastily drawn - it does not connect architecturally or artistically with the Hall buttress but overlies it. The painting in the Lobby has a painted title: "A view of a mansion 1700" which may indicate the date of the other two works by the same artist. This would suggest that they were, in fact, painted for Lord Crewe (1674 - 1721). None the less the two views emphasise those features that might normally be ascribed to Bishop Cosin following the evidence of his letters (Cosin 1872, 337). This, together with the

evidence of the Bok drawing discussed above, suggests that many of the works were completed or carried out by Cosin's successor, Lord Crewe. The paintings may have been commissioned once all the works of transformation were complete.

The castle and gondola (Plate 95)

Another early view which hangs on the Black Staircase in the castle can be identified from Boyle's list with some confidence. This is a view of the castle from the west and mainly shows the west side, as well as the Cathedral. It is a large open view with definite elements of the romantic; the castle is shown as isolated in open country and below on the river Wear, somewhat incongruously, is a gondola.

The west end of the north range is shown fairly plain with little attempt at definition. The windows are shown as Romanesque in the sense that they are round headed but Hatfield's window in the north wall of the Great hall is also depicted this way.

The cupola on the Black Staircase can be seen above, and below, the garderobe passage and the balcony at the north end of the Great Hall, so there has been some attempt to render the architectural detail. The windows on the Black Parlour are shown as rectangular in Cosin style, the other hall windows as small and in the style of Bek.

The building in the West Courtyard with the pitched roof can be seen as can the Long Tower discussed above, here shown as fairly square. There is some attempt to render the other building on the west as polygonal. Fox's Turret is not at all clear but his adjunct to the Great Hall can be seen. The Kitchen Tower is shown with the window of three lights that is known at present. The north side is depicted as grassy slopes without trees.

All these features suggest that the painting is at least earlier than the construction of the Servery by Bishop Trevor in the second half of the eighteenth century.

In Boyle's list of paintings in the Hall, number nine is given as:-

> View of the Cathedral and castle of Durham, painted early in the last century. The view is taken from South Street. (Boyle 1892, 187)

Alternatively, it may be that numbered as 91 in the 1836 list and simply described as "Durham castle and cathedral from above Framwellgate Bridge". It cannot be identified on the other lists.

In his account of Crewe's life Sir Timothy Eden records that the Bishop [Crewe] "had himself propelled on the Wear in a sumptuous gondola and drove about in a coach drawn by six beautiful black horses" (1952, 270).

Eden cites no reference for his remark but he was writing a popular history not an academic study. It should not of course be discounted that the source of the remark was these paintings now under discussion. The six black horses are clearly shown in the courtyard painting (Plate 96) which strongly suggests that the two black and white views and the colour view which derives from them were also painted for Lord Crewe. If correct, this would adjust the *terminus post quem* date for the works to 1674 the start of Crewe's episcopate. In the black and white from the north-west and the colour view the Keep mound is shown as stepped, yet the Bok drawing discussed above shows the mound as rough grass and without terraces. That drawing is dated by the British Library to 1680 but a number of the Durham drawings held by the Library are misdated (e.g Forster's drawings are dated to 1810). Bok's drawing may be earlier therefore, or the terracing of the mound was carried out later, well into the episcopate of Crewe. This dating would seem to conflict, however, with the evidence of Cosin's letters (Cosin 1872, 337) and I prefer the explanation that the Bok drawing should be dated at least twenty years earlier, i.e. not later than 1660.

The painting with the gondola, discussed above, was almost certainly painted from the South Street perspective and a date early in the eighteenth century would not do violence to the internal evidence of the picture, so it is fairly safe to equate this picture with number nine as described in Boyle's list.

The Buck drawings (Plate 97)

A series of drawings made by Samuel and Nathaniel Buck in the early eighteenth century also provide some evidence for the castle's appearance between the alterations of Lord

Crewe and those of Bishop Trevor(1752 - 1771). The first is dated to 1728 and the others to 1745.

The first shows the view from the south although it is more usually referred to as the south-west view (Plate 97). It is a rather plain drawing - no attempt is made to make the castle appear romantic or mysterious as in later artists. The Keep is shown as a hollow shell on the stepped mound. The problem of the dating of the terracing of the mound has been discussed above. The Keep may well have been only a shell by this stage as in 1789, 75 years after the restoration of Lord Crewe, the top storey had become so dangerous that Bishop Thurlow(1787 - 1791), ordered part of it pulled down. The Gatehouse is shown in its pre-Wyatt appearance. The description of its appearance at this time will be given more fully under the Grimm drawing but here it may be noted that the two upper windows are shown as virtually identical, save that the uppermost has a hood moulding. The wall between the Gatehouse and Keep is the same height as the former. A door is shown at the base of the wall as in the earlier painting discussed above.

The Kitchen Tower and Low Tower show little of interest, the Great Hall and Black Stairs Tower are also straightforward depictions.

On the North Range the uppermost windows can be presumed to be the originals although they are in such small detail it is difficult to say much about them. The middle level of windows is still evident at this period and can probably, given this caveat, and the surviving example, be ascribed to Tunstall's work (1530 - 1559).

The Clocktower, Tunstall Chapel and the building behind are depicted more or less as they are today. The cupola can be seen on the roof of the Black Stairs Tower and this feature is repeated in the Forster drawings discussed below. When this seventeenth century feature was removed is not known but it does not appear in drawings after the eighteenth century (see the discussion on the Pixell drawing below page 131). The pitched roof of a gallery or annexe is seen at the east end of the old chapel building and behind the Tunstall Chapel. This is clearly the same gallery feature that is depicted in slightly more detail in the seventeenth century view discussed above.

APPENDIX D
THE LATER VISUAL SOURCES

This section deals with the visual record of the castle that was published or drawn in the period after the works of Bishop Butler (1750 - 1752) and before the University was founded in 1832. Many structural and architectural changes took place in this period and the record made by various artists is invaluable. In 1837 the University took over the castle buildings for a Hall of Residence occasioning further major alterations. The Keep was rebuilt, for example, and the Norman Chapel building was reopened with its own alterations in structure and fabric. Tables Eight and Nine list the items to be discussed in this Appendix.

The Forster map (Plate 99)

The year 1754 saw the publication of a map and a number of views of the city by Forster. These are very helpful in giving us a view or impression of the castle before the major changes of Bishop Trevor (1752 - 1771). The map is somewhat of a hybrid, showing both a scaled layout, as in a modern map, and also perspective views of some major buildings as in earlier maps. The buildings depicted in this way include the cathedral, the churches, and the castle.

The castle is drawn as a south facing façade with the Keep above. Although in miniature, it can be seen that the style and depiction owe much to the earlier drawing of Buck.

The Gatehouse as shown is similar to that shown in Buck's drawing but here the left tower is shown with three plain stepped stages and without the projecting tower which Forster includes on the east tower. This is almost certainly just an artist's editing. Leaving the towers like this make the them look altogether more tidy and ordered - the Grimm drawing, to be discussed below, makes it clear that nothing had occurred to remove the western projecting tower in the meantime.

The three windows can clearly be seen in the wall between the Gatehouse and the Garden Stairs building. Although various towers are shown behind this, it seems most

likely that these are an attempt to represent the courtyard buildings on the north of the Inner Bailey. Thus the large tower with the conical roof which is out of proportion to the other buildings would in fact be the Clocktower. The tiny, thin tower to the west of it would be the stair turret to the Norman Gallery range which is shown adjacent to this turret. The two shadowy end gables depicted behind the Kitchen Tower and the Low Chamber would be the end of the Great Hall.

The outer walling is shown on the north side curving round as far as the Silver Street passage. In his article on the city walls Jones says that the map by T. Foster (sic) shows the towers built by Flambard (Jones 1922 241 - 246). On the map at this point three square projections are depicted. They are open backed but at this scale it is not clear whether the towers were open backed or whether these depictions are merely of ruined remnants.

Three other views of the city and castle signed by T. Forster are reproduced in the volume "Northumberland and Durham: a Hundred years ago." which is a compilation of prints and drawings, drawn together out of older works, by Frank Graham in 1968. Mr. Graham dates the publication of these drawings to 1790 but there can be little doubt that the "T. Forster" of the drawings is the Forster of the Map. Were the coincidence of the names not striking enough, the styles of the drawings when compared with the miniatures on the map, are identical. It can therefore be safely suggested that the date of the drawings is in fact the same as that of the map, i.e. 1754. This is important, especially when considering the close view of the castle on the north side where we find many features that confirm this earlier date.

The east view by Forster (Plate 100)

The first view by Forster is entitled "An East View of Durham from Pellow Wood Hill." This is the view from Pelaw wood and is the first clue that the date of the drawings must be earlier. The Keep can be seen clearly with the parapet intact, looking virtually identical with the Keep as depicted on the 1754 map. The Keep parapet was, as previously mentioned, pulled down by order of Bishop Thurlow in 1789, the building having become

dangerous by that date due to lack of upkeep. After that date this view became very popular with artists as the half ruined tower provided a truly romantic aspect to the castle. Here, though the Keep is in its original intact state and must predate 1790 OR postdate 1846 when it had been rebuilt. The latter date being improbable, due to the internal detail of the complementary views, it seems safe to ascribe the drawing to the map's date of 1754 and conclude that these drawings were done as a set to complement the map making process.

The North range in this drawing is shown rather bunched up and it is difficult to make details out. There is a prominent tower shown at the east end of the block which has a curious northern adjunct at its base. This may be an attempt to depict the octagonal building that nestles into the Keep mound at the base of the north-east angle tower. Forster's closer view from the north-west does not show the octagonal building.

The west end of the block is not easy to decipher as shown. Two towers are shown with various windows between them. The left hand tower matches most closely the arrangement of windows on King John's Tower as surviving at present and the rest of the north range would then be those buildings depicted as bunched up to the left of it. The right hand tower is not so easy to identify. On the closer drawing of the north-west view and the north-west view itself, Forster makes it clear that King John's Tower has only one window and most nearly resembles the tower seen on the left in the north-eastern view. However, in his north-west view he depicts the back of the Black Stairs Tower in the angle between the Great Hall and the North Hall as having many windows. It would be most logical to identify the right hand tower in the north-eastern view as a very curious perspective of the back of the the Black Stairs Tower. Thus in this north-east view, Forster would at the west end of the castle be showing a side-on view of the west end of the North range.

The long north-west view by Forster (Plate 102)

The long view from the north-west by Forster adds only a little to our information. The west façade is not clear but the overall technique closely follows that of the 1754 map.

The Keep parapet is still shown as intact though it may only have been a hollow shell by this time. A large double opening with round headed arches is seen on the west side of the Keep which may be supposed to be the original entrance. This detail is not exactly repeated in the close up view, although Romanesque openings are visible in positions near to what is shown on the distant view. These round headed openings also echo a rather vague feature of the Buck drawing of 1728. On the same side of the Keep, Buck depicts a single tall round headed opening, although this is in deep shadow and detail is difficult to make out.

The windows on the north side of the north range are square in the style that is either that of Cosin or Tunstall. King John's Tower is shown with one window - that of the present undergraduate Secretary's room. No others are shown and this agrees with the evidence of the closer view. The garderobe passage in the north-west angle is drawn even at this small scale, showing that Forster was meticulous enough to include tiny, otherwise seemingly irrelevant details. No lower towers on the west can be seen.

The close view from the north-west (Plate 103)

The second view from the north-west is much closer and here the artist has allowed himself some licence, excluding all those buildings which are not associated with the castle so that it appears to stand by itself in the open fields. It may be suspected that Forster had noted some details from a closer perspective and incorporated these into his drawing - the effect is of a view from a distance and a perspective that would not actually be possible.

The Keep is shown intact which once again belies the supposed date of 1790 but here it has an air of desolation and some foliage is shown protruding from the stonework on the north-east side. The large entrance or double opening on the west side of the tower, depicted in the distant view, is not shown - two simple round headed windows are shown instead, one on the north angle, and one on the north-west angle.

The north side is shown with square windows in the Cosin or Tunstall style but the two windows of the present Senior Common Room are shown in the new Gothic Revival style. The clue as to the date of this arrangement may be found on the west side.

The west side is shown as a shambles of buildings, giving the impression of addition after addition of structure with no real attempt to sort this side of the castle into any order. This may well explain Trevor's placing of the servery here as an attempt to create an orderly architectural arrangement, since after that work the west side was considerably tidier.

Fox's Turret can be seen clearly with something of the Buttery beyond. Below this are two low towers both apparently of polygonal shape. These cannot be equated with anything existing at the present day - they are the wrong shape altogether for the later Latrine Tower and R buttress buildings. They are depicted as separate from each other and the northern of the two buildings has windows apparently facing north. Perhaps it was one of these towers on the western side that was depicted in the maps by Patteson and Speed which were discussed above.

Remembering the two Gothic windows evident on the north side, one might suggest that this drawing shows us the North side after the days of Bishop Butler and the Gothic Revival work of Sanderson Miller but before Bishop Trevor had constructed his servery building on the west side. The two light window which is dimly depicted just behind Fox's Turret would be the window, surviving at present and lighting the Buttery. This would seem to indicate that the Buttery area had finally been enclosed by this time i.e. around 1754. The small western adjunct on the Great Hall would be the building constructed in this position by Bishop Fox but demolished or incorporated in the new arrangement by Trevor.

There are two other details that are of great interest. Below and around the base of the west wall and the building with the pitched roof, much tumbled masonry is apparent. This is presumably the "Broken Walls" referred to by some writers. This side of the castle is still known by this name.

On the slopes of the North Terrace, however, to the north of and below King John's Tower, some fragments of ruined wall can be seen. This is where Hutchinson claimed remnants of the old western towers could be seen and other drawings (see discussion below) seem to indicate that there were remains to be seen here in the late eighteenth century.

The views of Grimm

The second half of the eighteenth century saw the work of the artist Grimm, who drew a number of important and revealing views of the castle and City. Grimm included many architectural details in his drawings and he must be considered as one of the major sources for the early appearance of the buildings. While Grimm had his own style and expertise, a number of views, especially of the Keep, suggest that he was influenced by the earlier work of Forster and Buck (e.g. GTD II f. 128). The dates of Grimm's work in Durham may be suggested by the few works that are dated (e.g. drawing g discussed below).

The details shown in his drawing of the west side of the castle (GTD II f.119) help to indicate the date at which his views were executed. It is surprisingly badly executed for Grimm with lines scrappily drawn and some buildings with corners missing or windows only hinted at. The whole effect suggests that this is a preliminary sketch of which the main drawing up was to occur later.

The drawing is quite late in the century since the servery is now in place with the Latrine Tower visible. The Junction buildings are depicted with the Chapel building rising behind the Tunstall gallery. In the south wall of the Chapel building a four centred arch can be seen - perhaps a more accurate rendering of the opening shown rather clumsily with a gabled top in the seventeenth century view.

These buildings cannot all be seen from one place and once again as in earlier drawings the perspective is rather odd. Possibly, as in Forster above, Grimm was drawing a number of details and features on the same drawing for use in a number of different views later.

Another view, this time the distant view from Pelaw Wood, shows that the Keep was still intact (GTD II f.120). The period of the drawings then, would seem to be after 1754 but before 1789.

An interesting minor detail shows on a south view taken from the area of the Prebend's Bridge. (GTD II f. 122). The Low Tower is depicted with what appears to be an eleventh or twelfth century corbel table on its wall. This corbel table does not appear on the drawing of folio 119 although a fragment of such corbelling has been used in a wall attached to the west end of the Norman Chapel building (Plate 79). That this view had been taken from the Prebends' Bridge area may indicate the date as after 1777, the bridge having been reconstructed in that year following storm destruction.

The Keep and Gatehouse by Grimm (Plate 104)

Two of Grimm's major Durham Castledrawings must be folios 175 and 177 in which he depicts the Gatehouse and Keep mound wall before the restoration and dramatic alterations in their appearance by James Wyatt for Bishop Barrington (1791 -1826).

The drawings shows a central squarish tower with a low projecting tower on the east, and a full height projecting tower with a secondary low projecting tower on the west. The topmost window on the main tower, "restored" by Wyatt as a round window, is here depicted as a two light opening with a hood moulding very much in Tunstall's or Cosin's style. Since we know that Tunstall remodelled the gate somewhat (the present wooden gate is his work, for example) this is not surprising. The window below this, which Wyatt restored as Early English seems to be a simple rectangular window of seventeenth century form without a hood moulding. Above the parapet a Tudor style chimney stack can be seen to the left and in the centre a belfry like clock tower is depicted the details of which would suggest the work of Bishop Cosin (1660 - 1672). All these details conform with earlier drawings such as the seventeenth century view from Palace Green and the Buck drawing. In both those drawings a similar belfry clock tower can be seen on the roof of the Tunstall clock tower.

The new detail, that Grimm depicts and the earlier drawings do not, is a pair of vestigial Romanesque windows either side of the seventeenth century window on the main tower. Neither is complete and both appear blocked. They appear to be simple single light windows with splays, window casements, voussoirs made of small square blocks of stone, but without hood moulds. Their appearance is very simple and while little may be made of that for close dating purposes, they give every suggestion of being original features.

The drawing of the wall between the Keep and the Gatehouse is also depicted very differently from its present form. It may be presumed that Bishop Cosin did not demolish this wall as part of his new Gatehouse and castle approach. However Wyatt may well have done so, in order to make his newly restored Gatehouse stand by itself to greater effect.

The original wall depicted here and in earlier drawings starts from the Gatehouse at the same height as the parapet and simply goes straight across at the same level. This makes good defensive sense and is much more logical than the present Garden wall which is so incongruous with the threatening and defensive aspects of the North and West sides.

Once again, Grimm furnishes us with new details. Higher up the mound and let into this wall, he depicts a small door with a hood moulding and above it a three light opening blocked with bricks. This detail is also evident on the Buck, and more scrappily drawn, on the seventeenth century views. Both of those views show a door in the base of the wall immediately adjacent to the eastern projecting tower and at the base of the mound. This would presumably be the door still existing and giving access from the Courtyard to the Master's Garden. Grimm, however, does not depict this door but concentrates on showing two Romanesque blind arches almost in the same position. It seems unlikely that Grimm has invented these features and he is therefore depicting an original feature that he saw in this wall. Of course, by this date the demolition of the Barbican had already taken place (Cosin 1872, 379) so it is not possible to know if these vestigial features were connected with the outworks.

Grimm's drawing of the Romanesque Doorway on the Tunstall Gallery (GTD II f.176) is no help. It is depicted in a very clean way and suggests that the drawing was executed after Bishop Barrington's "restoration".

The Norman Chapel by Grimm

The drawing on folio 178 is of great interest. It is almost identical to the drawing used by George Allan in his extra illustrated edition of Hutchinson's history published about 1800 but said there to be drawn by Francis Grose in 1778 (Plate 106). It is there labelled:

> Subterraneous chapel in the Castle of Durham. The entrance is through a cellar, where a stone figure of St Cuthbert is stuck against the wall. The chest is preserved in which his body was carried about. drawn Oct. 2d. 1778 by Mr Grose who gave it to me. GA

The drawing is done from an odd perspective and many details are incorrect. Assuming that the windows on the left, depicted with brackets on the half column respond, are the east windows would match logically with the corbel respond shown on the left which would that surviving on the west wall. The door shown in the centre of the opposite wall would be a door, now blocked, that previously gave onto the chamber below the Tunstall Chapel. Only four of the six aisle columns are depicted and the herring-bone pattern of the floor is erroneously depicted as aligned north-south.

The drawing in the Grimm collection appears to be either the original, or a direct copy of it, since all the same perspective and artistic errors are there. Grimm seems to have been a careful artist, so one is tempted to suggest that, as folio 119, this is a preliminary sketch of details for a drawing that was never executed. Presumably Grose gave his copy of the drawing to George Allan who published it, unaware of its flaws.

Miscellaneous drawings by Grimm

Folio 182 is a well executed drawing of the Norman Gallery in Pudsey's Hall and the Romanesque door still surviving at the east end. A step up which no longer survives is shown just east of the door suggesting that the floor levels of this Gallery have been changed, perhaps by Bishop Barrington when he renewed its roof.

St. Cuthbert's statue is drawn on folio 184 and described as "standing in the corner of a cellar at the castle". This suggests that the drawing of the Chapel mentioned above

was Grimm's work. Very much the same description and use of the word "cellar" to describe the room adjacent, is written by Allan below the drawing. It is, however, still possible that Grimm has also copied this drawing since the date of 1778 would fit well with the dates of the other drawings that Grose executed in County Durham at this period.

The Armstrong map

In 1768 a Capt. Armstrong issued a map of the City of Durham with illustrated features which is well known but not of relevance to this study. It is simply a copy of the Map issued in 1754 by Forster with Forster's signature plate taken out. The map was issued again in 1781 with smaller vignettes of the buildings and even less attention to detail.

The Grose view (Plate 101)

In 1774 Grose published his own view of the castle in "12 views of Durham". His view was fairly close in and taken from the south-west. Grose was a little careless with details or preferred to alter where he felt the view was untidy - the projecting towers of the Gatehouse are shown as identical rather than asymmetrical. Interestingly and indeed curiously, the wall between the Gatehouse and Garden Stairs does not appear to show the windows which appear on the earlier drawings but rather the two crosses that exist at present. Grose restates the date of 1774 in his text. The crosses depicted match those that were "restored" on the Gatehouse as part of Wyatt's work and therefore they should date to the Post Barrington period. If that is so, however, they would have removed any trace of the previous windows, leaving one wondering how Gee managed to see and describe traces of them in 1928 (Gee 1928, 70). It is possible that fragments of the windows remained until the restoration work in 1928 but it is hard to see why this latter work should have removed these traces.

The Courtauld drawing (Plate 107)

This confusion is increased by a drawing almost identical to Grose's, now held at the Courtauld Institute. It is labelled "engraving 30th Jan. 1784 sparrow sc." The name is

unclear; the inscription on the front of the drawing states "published by Hooper 1784". It is so close to the Grose drawing that it would be appear to be a somewhat more detailed version of the same drawing than that published in his "Twelve Views".

It is again a south-west view and shows the Keep parapet intact which accords with the date given. The Gate Tower is depicted in its pre-Wyatt appearance and once again the wall between it and Garden Stairs is shown with two crosses. This peculiarity might be explained by saying that this is another view by Grose that he did not publish but this still leaves unexplained the absence of the windows which were depicted in other views.

Also of great interest is a double line of large dressed blocks which are depicted almost in the manner of a ruined wall below the Latrine Tower on the west side. Could this again be some of the remnants that Hutchinson believed were of Flambard's Western Towers? The constant depiction of ruins on this spot certainly suggest that some remains of great archaeological interest may survive here.

The drawings of Carter

At the end of the eighteenth century a series of drawings of Durham was made by Carter. (1795). The north-west view on folio 23 is of little use - no real detail is shown and the drawing has been damaged in several places.

Folio 75 is a depiction of the Norman Chapel. There may have originally intended to be a drawing of the statue in the Chapel, since the label actually says:-

> ...ue in the Crypt under the Gallery in the ...op's Palace. The head has been broke of and ...d on again. The dress is of a Bishop but the ...ead is of a King but yet on the nicest inspection the parts appear to have been one originally.

Some of the capitals have also been drawn and there is a measured plan as well on the same page suggesting that Carter had actually got inside the building. The doorway to the room on the south is depicted as being open as is the window that originally existed in this wall and was blocked in 1951 (Seely and Paget 1951).

No door of any sort is shown at the western end although the recess in the western wall is evident. The opening in the north wall is not drawn but the door to the spiral stairway is shown as being open at this period. A curious platform or similar construction is depicted around the north-west respond.

Folio 76 shows two sections of the Chapel. They are depicted in the simplest possible detail, the capitals of the pillars depicted as unadorned. The depictions are straightforward although interestingly evidencing the aumbry in the north wall as existing at this period. In the north - south elevation there is some curious shading at the base of the south wall but the explanation of this is unclear.

Folio 77 has some rather bad drawings of the capitals, the brackets on the east wall and the chest which is now on the Tunstall Gallery, labelled:-

> chest which held the body of St. Cuthbert in his feretory in the Cathedral Tis now in this chapel: the lid here opens the wrong way being forced by the hinges so

Folio 78 is a competent drawing of the Norman Arch on the Tunstall Gallery. It is obviously after Barrington's time, for not only does it appear as it did just before the very recent conservation work but in the margin Carter has remarked:-

> new facing took place which widely differs from the original work.Our architects blind to the beauty of the original parts of ancient building substitute their own designs at once setting propriety aside and presumptuously intruding their faulty fancies on their employers and the public.

As well as appearing as an early conservationist Carter tells us that he did not draw from life but took his drawing from a painting "in a Palace bedchamber of about Queen Anne's time" (sic). One assumes that this was the bedroom in the Bishop's Apartments which still has the appearance of that period and wonders if the Grimm drawing of the door hung there in Carter's day.

The drawings of Buckler

J.C. Buckler is the last major illustrator in this period. His drawings date from the early nineteenth century. Number 204 is a west view very like Grimm's folio 119 although this is more of a finished work. The one difference that appears here is that on the north wall of the west courtyard where Grimm shows a projecting timber, Buckler has some kind of upright feature with a narrow window to its north-west. This may be the lower door under the servery which can still be seen although blocked, but equally it may be bad draftmanship.

Folios 213 and 214 are Keep views. The first shows the Courtyard more or less as it was before the insertion of the new Keep entrance in 1953; the Keep, however, is depicted as ruined, with a huge half of a round arch where the old entrance had been shown on earlier drawings. Above, two large Gothic windows can be seen. In the second external view of the Keep, the door and the Gothic style of the windows above is less evident. The Gate is clearly post-Wyatt in its style of depiction and it appears from this drawing that the old high wall on the east side of the Gate had been demolished by this time.

Miscellaneous views 1782 - 1829

A rather fanciful representation of the west side appears in "King's Topographical Collection" (BL Maps K.12.34.d), which also contains the Buck drawing discussed above. This drawing is by Maria Pixell executed in 1782 and drawn from Castle Chare. The emphasis of the drawing is on Durham's idyllic agricultural setting and the castle is mainly shown as a series of towers. This may be the last time however, that the Keep parapet is drawn before demolition and the last time that the Black Stairs cupola is seen in a drawing.

However, a drawing entitled "A Northeast view of Durham by Thomas Hearne engraved by Byrne with a description" (BL Maps K.12.34.e), suggests that the Keep only came down in stages. The drawing is dated 1799, or after the parapet had been demolished on the orders of Bishop Thurlow. However in this drawing the parapet

appears intact so the date may be earlier. Alternatively, the topmost window appears to be looking onto sky, so it may be that only part of the parapet was pulled down and the rest allowed to fall down in stages.

In a drawing by Jukes and Sarjent in the same collection (BL Maps K.12.34.f), and dated to 1809, the Keep has a ragged edge at the top but the north-east side still seems intact. However the Robson drawing of 1809 (BL Maps K.12.34.g) shows the Keep as clearly ruined, as does the drawing by Bouet in 1824 (reproduced in Clack 1985 16) so it would seem that at this period artistic romance was beginning to outweigh architectural accuracy.

The Robson drawing although romantic in style, is the first drawing to depict the Gatehouse in its restored form after Wyatt's work. Between this and the Garden Stairs building, three windows can clearly be seen but it is not clear whether this is the building mentioned by Gee (chapter 1), or the windows of the Tunstall Chapel showing in the gap.

The last drawing in this period is perhaps the view from the north-east drawn by Westall in 1829. The Keep is in a very ruined state and little other detail is shown. With the coming of the University, the Keep would be rebuilt, encouraging artists once again to draw the castle not merely for its romance, but also for its architecture.

In the days of the University

The castle became a University Hall of Residence in 1837. Almost at once, the University began far reaching changes to the structure and appearance of the building.

In need of accommodation for its students, the University employed the architect Antony Salvin to rebuild the Keep as sets of rooms. The north end of the Great Hall had been previously divided off by Bishop Neile (1617 -1628) to provide a set of two rooms - the Black Parlour and a lower breakfast room (Hutchinson 1785, 489) (Gee 1928 66 and 74). At first these were kept by the University, the lower room serving as a Don's Common Room but very shortly the rooms were cleared and the hall opened up to the length it had in the days of Bishop Fox (1494 - 1501). This necessitated some alteration to the windows and the two small Gothic windows, a feature of drawings of the west side in the eighteenth

century, disappeared. This work was accompanied by the opening out of the windows on the east side to their fullest extent and their restoration in Gothic style, although this last does not appear to have altered them greatly in appearance.

Allom (Plate 98)

The first drawing to be examined in this period is dated to 1832, the year of the University's foundation. The text, however, makes it clear that the castle at that time is still in the hands of the Bishop and the drawing is perhaps, a last glimpse before the changes that were to follow very shortly.

The drawing is by Thomas Allom (Allom & Rose 1832, 10) and is of the north-west view. It appears architecturally accurate, although the style of drawing is misty and romantic with the emphasis on effect not accuracy. The Latrine Tower is clear and a level of windows appears in this structure below the level of the West Courtyard. The Romanesque door which survives below the West Courtyard is not shown, nor can the garderobe passage between the North Range and the Great Hall be detected. The west windows on the North Hall are clearly depicted as Norman, the north windows are very vague and the Keep only hinted at.

A very curious projecting structure is depicted on the north-west corner of King John's Tower. It is drawn as a long thin stone structure and appears to have a pitched or pointed roof. There several possibilities for this feature:

1.It is the garderobe passage, incorrectly placed and with an incorrect roof.

2.It is supposed to be the wall of the North Terrace and the "roof" is a mistake.

3.It is all that remains of an ancient exit from the base of the Tower perhaps down to the West Towers.

This last is an exciting possibility but it must be noted that no other artist has drawn such a structure in a this position and it is more likely to be a bad drawing of the terrace wall.

A third view, however, from the north-east, depicts the Junction buildings in good condition but the Keep is shown as a picturesque ruin.

Billings

The first two drawings appear in 1843 (Billings 1843, frontis and plate XXII). The former is mainly of the Cathedral and needs little comment. The second view is of the west side (Plate 109). The Great Hall is depicted with two levels of Gothic windows at the north end so it would appear that the University had not yet removed the Black Parlour rooms. No lower door is depicted on the West Courtyard nor any lower level to the Latrine Tower. The Garderobe passage is lost in thick foliage. There is again a projection shown at the base of King John's Tower but here, Billings clearly intends it to represent the Terrace wall.

His view from the north-west side published in 1846 (Billings 1846, 30) is the same as that discussed above.

The view from Mountjoy Hill (Billings 1846, 36) depicts the Keep and Great Hall fairly clearly but other buildings are drawn in outline, rather than in any detail.

The view of the Norman Chapel (Billings 1846) is executed just after the work by Salvin. The stair inserted in the southeast angle is clearly seen, but Billings has ignored some details - the opening in the north wall for example. A raised step is depicted at the east end, a feature not seen in the earlier drawing by Grimm/Grose.

His sketch of the Norman door on the Tunstall Gallery is technical as to artistic detail but otherwise ignores the weathering of the sides. The Norman Gallery is depicted with a stone floor.

The most important view in the 1846 collection is that of the Courtyard (Plate 110). The south door to the Undercroft is shown as a window, but the loop windows at the north end are in gloom - they simply cannot be seen. The lower part of the Black Stairs Tower is depicted as having only one window, immediately adjacent to the door at the tower base. The north door in the east wall of the Undercroft is just visible but the buttress adjacent to it is depicted as curiously elongated. This is very similar to the way the Undercroft was depicted in the black and white painting of 1700 (chapter 4) implying that, at any rate in this area, little had changed.

Perry & Henman

A perspective drawing of the late nineteenth century (Perry & Henman 1867, Plate 17) is worth noting for the plan of the Norman Chapel that appears on the same plate. No openings are depicted in the south wall and the passage and door from the base of the newel stair is blocked off. The drawing does not depict the opening in the North wall but otherwise appears to be a genuinely measured drawing with measurements on the plan.

The Courtauld photographs

There are a number of photographs at the Conway Library of Photographs which is attached to the Courtauld Institute of Art. These were taken in the nineteen-fifties and consist of a variety of views in that area (Plate 111 and 112).

As well as the appearance of the Chapel before restoration, a significant feature of these photographs is the historic material at that time stored in the Chapel. Material still existing at the present day can be seen - the Roman inscriptions and the Brandon Cist now at the Old Fulling Mill Archaelogical Museum. There are also a few pieces whose origin is known - for example the capitals from the demolished Norman church of St. Nicholas in the marketplace at Durham - which are now lost or destroyed. In addition there are a few items such as the stone reliefs which can be only dimly seen in the photograph which may be related to the castle but whose whereabouts are not known. A full analysis of these pictures might reveal other significant information about Durham's lost heritage.

APPENDIX E

TABLE ONE

PRIMARY SOURCES

TITLE	AUTHOR	DATE	SOURCE OF REFERENCE
HISTORIA REGUM	SYMEON OF DURHAM	11/12TH CENTURY	Symeonis Monachis Opera Omnia, ed. T. Arnold (Rolls Series, 1882 1885)
HISTORIA DUNELMENSIS ECCLESIAE	SYMEON OF DURHAM	11/12TH CENTURY	Symeonis Monachis Opera Omnia, ed. T. Arnold (Rolls Series, 1882 1885)
CHARTER OF WALTHAM ABBEY	QUEEN MATILDA	BEFORE 1096	Regesta Anglo-Normannorum 1956 II 526
DE DUCUM NORMANNORUM	WILLIAM OF JUMIEGES	11/12TH CENTURY	ed. W.Camden 1602, Frankfurt D.U.P.G.L. Cosin R.III.1
DIALOGII LAURENTII DUNELMENSIS MONACHI AC PRIORIS	LAURENCE OF DURHAM	c. 1144	Ed. J. Raine (Surtees Society 70 1880)
LIBELLUS DE ADMIRANDIS BEATI CUTHBERTI VIRTUTIBUS	REGINALD OF DURHAM	12TH CENTURY	Ed. J. Raine (Surtees Society 1 1835)
DE STATU ECCLESIAE DUNELMENSIS	GEOFFREY OF COLDINGHAM	12TH CENTURY	Historia Dunelm Scriptores Tres ed. J. Raine (Surtees Society 9 1839)
THE GREAT ROLL OF THE PIPE	13 AND 14 JOHN	1211 - 1213	Pipe Roll 13 John 39 & 14 John 47
HISTORIA DE STATU ECCLESIAE DUNELMENSIS	ROBERT DE GRAYSTANES	13/14TH CENTURY	Historia Dunelm Scriptores Tres ed. J. Raine (Surtees Society 9 1839)
COPYHOLD BOOKS	BISHOP SKIRLAW	14TH CENTURY	B 431 & 465 (DCCL)
THE ITINERARY	JOHN LELAND	16TH CENTURY	ed. Toulmin, 1964
HISTORIA ECCLESIAE DUNELMENSIS	WILLIAM DE CHAMBRE	14TH-16TH CENTURIES	ed. Raine 1839, Surtees Society vol. 9

TABLE TWO

SIXTEENTH CENTURY SOURCES

TITLE	AUTHOR	DATE	SOURCE
THE ECCLESIA-STICAL HISTORY OF DURHAM	CHRISTOPHER WATSON	1573	BL Cotton Vitellius c. ix
HISTORIE OF DURESME	THOMAS WATSON	1574	BL Cotton Vitellius c. ix
EXTRACTS FROM THE LIVES OF THE BISHOPS	FRANCIS THYNNE	LATE 16TH CENTURY (SEE TEXT)	BL Stowe 1047

TABLE THREE
SEVENTEENTH CENTURY SOURCES

TITLE	AUTHOR	DATE	SOURCE
A HISTORY OF THE BISHOPS OF DURHAM	UNKNOWN	1605	Not extant (see text)
BRITANNIA	CAMDEN	1695	DCCL I.I.17
THE GOLDEN LEGEND OF ST CUTHBERT	ROBERT HEGGE	1626	DUPGL L942.81
ORIGIN AND SUCCESSION OF THE BISHOPS OF DURHAM	JOHN HALL	1603	Published 1779 in edition of Hegge
VARIOUS LETTERS	BISHOP COSIN	1660s	ed. Ornsby 1872 (Surtees Society vol 55)
ANGLIA SACRA	WHARTON	1691	DCCL E.v. 37-38

TABLE FOUR
EIGHTEENTH CENTURY SOURCES

TITLE	AUTHOR	DATE	SOURCE OF REFERENCE
BUTLER'S ACCOUNTS	BISHOP BUTLER	1751	British Library ADD 9815
GUIDE TO DURHAM	T. COX	1730	Magna Britannia Antiqua et Nova
RITES OF DURHAM	DR C. HUNTER	1733 & 1743	DCCL I.VII.89 & I.VII.67
RITES OF DURHAM	P. SANDERSON	1767	British Library 296.i.18
GUIDE TO DURHAM	C. BURLINGTON	1780	D.U.P.G.L.
AN HISTORICAL ACCOUNT ETC.	RICHARD GOUGH	1780	The British Topographer
COLLECTANEA CURIOSA	JOHN GUTCH	1781	D.U.P.G.L.
COUNTY HISTORY OF DURHAM	WILLIAM HUTCHINSON	1785 & 1787	D.U.P.G.L.
HISTORICAL NOTES ETC.	JOHN LAMBERT	1796	D.U.P.G.L.

TABLE FIVE

NINETEENTH CENTURY SOURCES

TITLE	AUTHOR	DATE	SOURCE OF REFERENCE
HISTORY OF DURHAM	R.S. SURTEES	1816	D.U.P.G.L.
HISTORY OF DURHAM	E. MACKENZIE	1834	D.U.P.G.L.
HISTORY OF DURHAM	W. FORDYCE	1857	D.U.P.G.L.
DURHAM CASTLE	J. BOYLE	1890	North Country Lore & Legend 166-70
HISTORY OF DURHAM	J. BOYLE	1892	D.U.P.G.L.

TABLE SIX

TITLE	AUTHOR	DATE	SOURCE OF REFERENCE
LETTERS, PAPERS & ARTICLE ON CASTLE	HENRY GEE MASTER OF UNIVERSITY COLLEGE	1904 - 1928	As cited in text and The Victoria County History
LETTERS, PAPERS & ARTICLE ON WALLS AND TOWERS OF DURHAM	W.T. JONES ARCHITECT TO THE CASTLE	1904 - 1928	As cited in Text and in Durham University Journal
CASTLE GUIDE	H. CONYERS-SURTEES	1928	D.U.P.G.L.

TABLE SEVEN

PRE-1750 VIEWS OF DURHAM CASTLE

TITLE	AUTHOR	DATE	SOURCE OF REFERENCE
MAP OF CITY	PATTESON	1595	British Library Maps 2265 (6)
MAP OF CITY	JOHN SPEED	1611	Nicholson & Hawkyard 1988 73
MAP DE DURHAM	NOT ATTRIBUTED	1650	British Library ADD 11654
DUNELMUM D.	M. MERIAN	1650	British Library Maps 28.bb.13
SOUTH-EAST VIEW OF CITY	V. BOK	1657-65 (see discussion)	British Library Maps 2265 (1)
NORTH-WEST VIEW OF CASTLE (B&W)	NOT ATTRIBUTED	c. 1700	At Durham Castle on the Black Stairs
NORTH-WEST VIEW OF CASTLE (COL)	NOT ATTRIBUTED	c. 1700	At Durham Castle adjacent to the Judges' Kitchen
CASTLE COURTYARD	NOT ATTRIBUTED	c. 1700	At Durham Castle in the present Master's Office
WEST VIEW OF CASTLE WITH GONDOLA	NOT ATTRIBUTED	c. 1700	At Durham Castle on the Black Stairs
SOUTH VIEW OF CASTLE	S. & N. BUCK	1728	British Library Maps K.34.r
SOUTH-WEST VIEW OF CITY	S. & N. BUCK	1745	British Library Maps K.34.a

TABLE EIGHT

POST-1750 VIEWS OF DURHAM CASTLE

TITLE	AUTHOR	DATE	SOURCE OF REFERENCE
MAP OF CITY	T. FORSTER	1754	British Library Maps 2265 (2)
EAST VIEW OF CITY	T. FORSTER	1754	British Library Maps 2265 (4)
NORTH-WEST VIEW OF CITY	T. FORSTER	1754	British Library Maps 2265 (3)
NW CLOSE-UP OF CASTLE	T. FORSTER	1754	British Library Maps K.34.s
VARIOUS VIEWS	SAMUEL GRIMM	1770S (see text)	British Library ADD 15539
MAP OF CITY	CAPTAIN ARMSTRONG	1768	British Library Maps 183.o.3.(1)
SW VIEW OF CASTLE	FRANCIS GROSE	1774	12 views of Durham DUPGL
SW VIEW OF CASTLE	SPARROW	1784	Conway Library Folder D 422/3 (32)
VARIOUS VIEWS	CARTER	1795	British Library ADD 29933
VARIOUS VIEWS	J.G. BUCKLER	EARLY 19TH CENTURY	British Library ADD 36361
VARIOUS VIEWS	AS ATTRIBUTED IN TEXT	1782 - 1829	British Library Maps K.34.d-g.2

TABLE NINE

POST-NINETEENTH CENTURY VIEWS OF DURHAM CASTLE

TITLE	AUTHOR	DATE	SOURCE OF REFERENCE
NW VIEW OF CASTLE	THOMAS ALLOM	1832	Allom and Rose 1832 10
2 VIEWS OF CASTLE AND CATHEDRAL	R.W. BILLLINGS	1843 & 1846	Billings 1843 & 1846
2 VIEWS OF THE GREAT HALL	UNKNOWN	c. 1836	Hanging in Senior Common Room Lobby at Castle
NORMAN CHAPEL PLAN	J.T. PERRY & C. HENMAN JNR	1867	Perry & Henman 1867 plate 17
VARIOUS PHOTOGRAPHS	DR. GIBBY		D.U.P.G.L. Gibby Collection
VARIOUS PHOTOGRAPHS	DOROTHY EDIS	c. 1902	D.U.P.G.L. Edis Collection
VARIOUS PHOTOGRAPHS	ARTHUR GARDINER	c. 1940s	Conway Library

TABLE TEN

COMPARATIVE HALLS

Late eleventh	Scolland's Hall, Richmond Castle Yorks.	56'/17.06m x 26'/7.92m
1067 - 71	Chepstow	c.88'/27m x 23'/7m
c.1072	Durham, East Range	c.68'/20.7m x 34'/10.36m
c.1080	Corfe	72'/21.95m x 17'/5.18m
1099	Westminster	240'/73.2m x 67'/20.6m
1120s	Norham (Flambard's)	17m x 8m
c.1130	Sherborne Old Castle	72'/21.94m x 24'/7.31m
Mid-twelfth	Leicester Castle	79'/24m x 57'/17.5m
c.1138	Wolvesey, East range	88/26.8m x 29'/8.8m
c.1153-95	Bishop Auckland Castle	85'/26.2m x 45'/13.9m
c.1155-60	Durham, West Range, as rebuilt by le Puiset	93'/28.34m x 34'/10.36m
c.1170	Durham, North Range, excluding chambers	60'/18.28 x 32'/9.75m
c.1170	Durham, North Range, including chambers	110'/33.52 x 32'/9.75m
c.1176	Clarendon Palace	83'/25.4m x 51'/15.7m
c.1186	Hereford palace, excluding chamber block	110'/33.52m x 55'/16.76m

TABLE ELEVEN
ROYAL CASTLES

NAME & DATE	FOUNDER(S)	DESCRIPTION	TYPE
Hastings 1066	King William	Motte and Bailey (assumed from Bayeux Tapestry)	Military
Dover 1066	King William	Bailey only within existing earthworks approx. 90 x 140m assuming that Inner bailey is area of original	Primarily military and strongly defensive.
The Tower of London 1066-7	King William	Within roman city using old defences on SE sides; tower keep in polygonal bailey. 140 x 128m.	Primarily military and residential
Exeter 1068	King William chose site but nobles built it	On natural rocky mound in corner of Roman city using old defences as walls on NE/NW sides. No Motte.	Primarily military
Nottingham 1068	King William	Natural motte of rock and bailey on headland site.	Residential and military
Lincoln 1068	King William	Motte and bailey using the defences.	Its history suggests a mainly military use.
Cambridge 1068	King William	Motte and Bailey inside Roman enclosure	Mainly residential
Chester 1070	Ordered by William but probably built by earls	Motte and bailey within Roman city. Inner bailey 40 x 50m and Outer Bailey 70 x 100m but both much altered.	

Wallingford 1071	King William	Motte and Bailey within old Saxon burh; double moated	Military
Ely 1071	King William	Motte and Bailey	
Corfe Undated but accepted as eleventh	King William	Triangular inner bailey with no motte but situated on high hill. Inner bailey 15 x 26m and outer 12 x 18m	Military and defensive
Hertford "Soon after Conquest" (Colvin 1963 677)	King William	Motte and polygonal bailey with encircling moat 106 x 97m	History suggests residential.

TABLE TWELVE

NOBLE CASTLE

NAME & DATE	FOUNDER	DESCRIPTION	TYPE
Norwich "very soon after the Conquest" (Colvin 1963 753)	Ordered by William, built by William fitz Osbern	Rectangular Motte in bailey	Military, urban
Berkhamsted Before 1086	Robert of Mortain	Moated motte and bailey of square form 96 x 132m	Residential and military
Chepstow 1067 - 71	William fitz Osbern	Bailey, no motte, on rocky spur approx. 16 - 42m wide and 123m long	Urban, residential
Hereford Pre-Conquest, re-founded after 1066	Ralph the Frenchman then William fitz Osbern	Triangular or kite shaped bailey with circular motte 175 x 160m	urban, military.
Oxford 1071	Robert d'Oilli	Triangular bailey 120 x 96m with ditched motte and polygonal shell keep	urban
Okehampton 1066-7	Baldwin fitz Gilbert	Bailey without motte on rocky spur	Residential
Richmond before 1089	Alan the Red	Stone bailey on river cliff; no motte 96 x 108m	Residential

APPENDIX F

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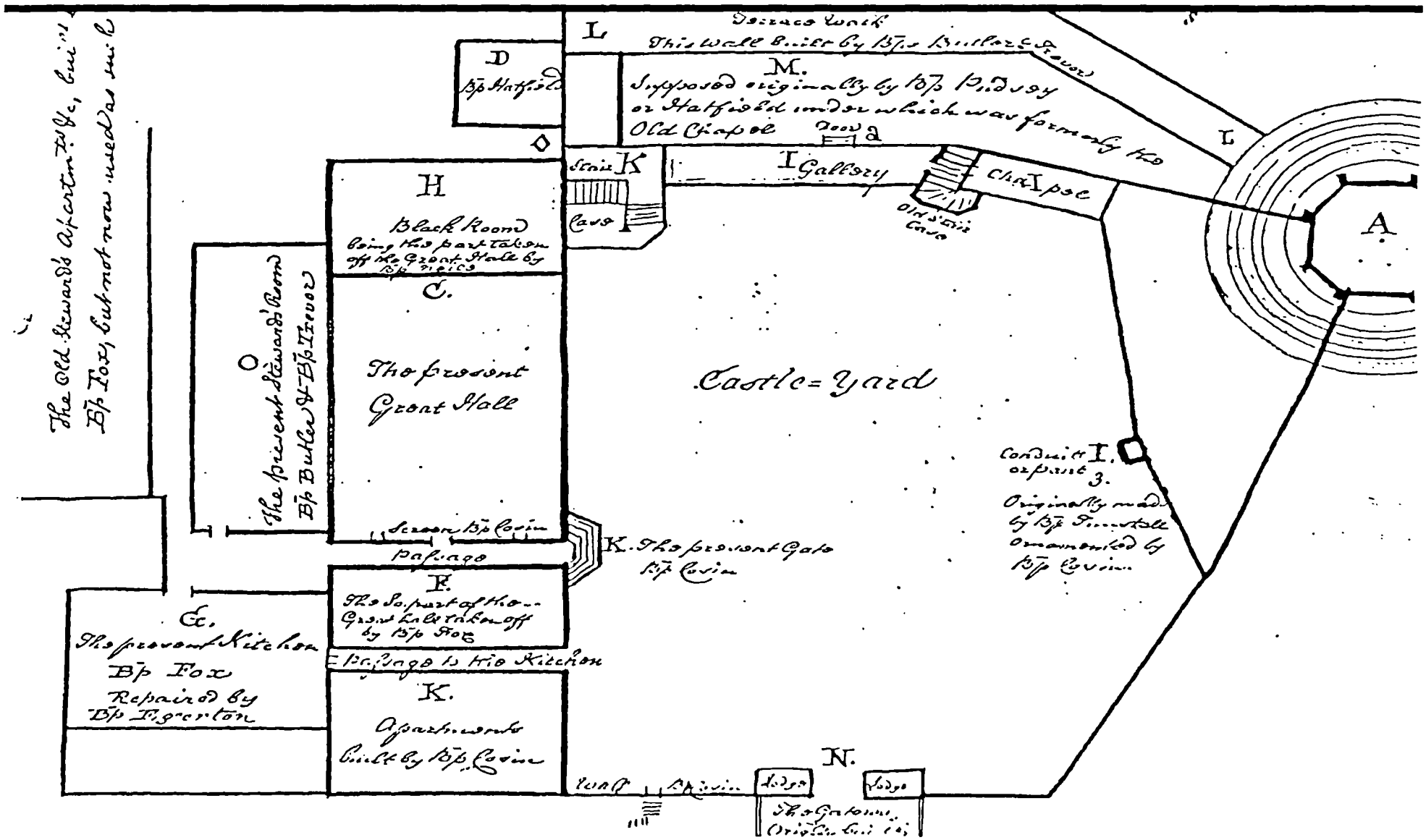
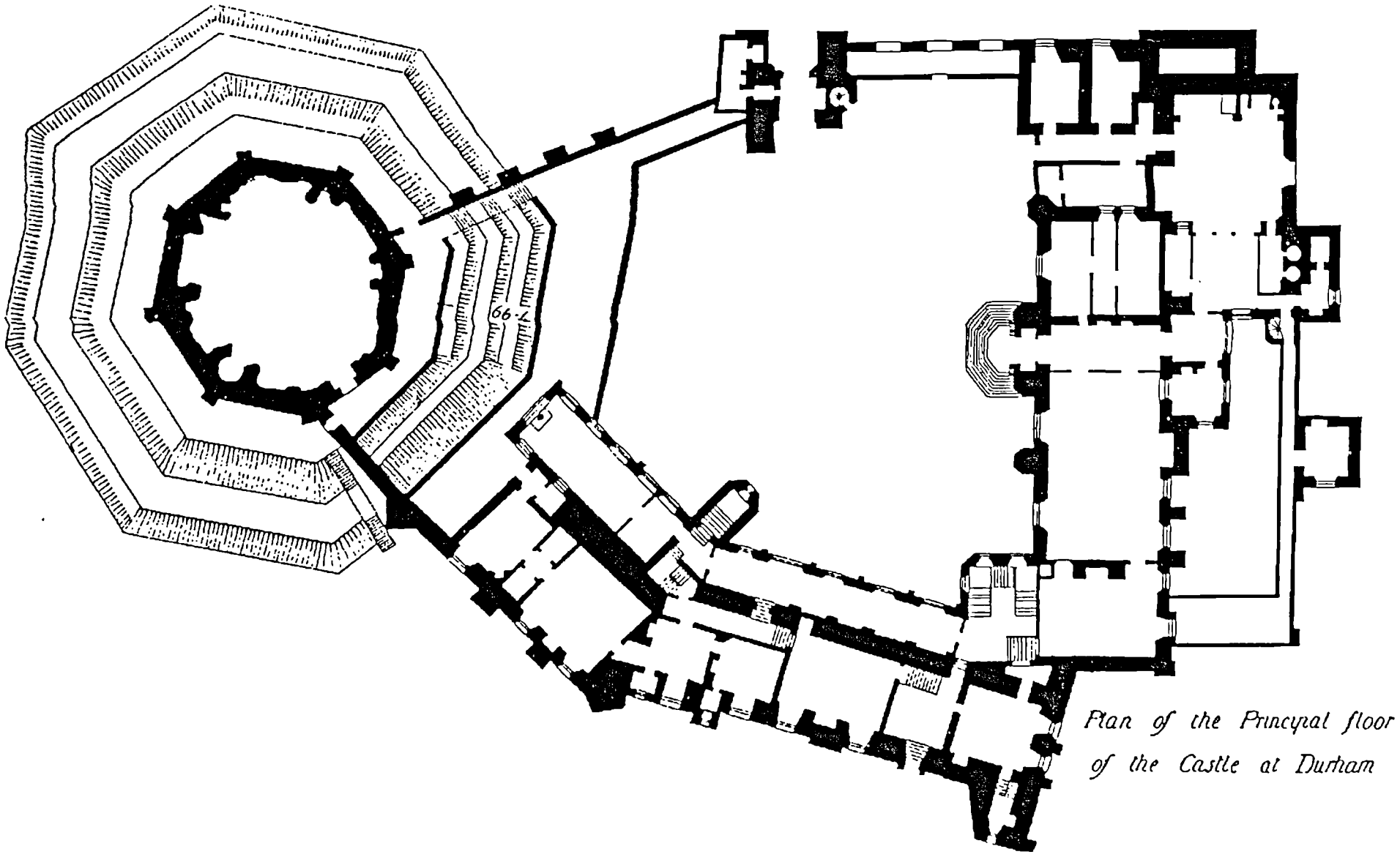
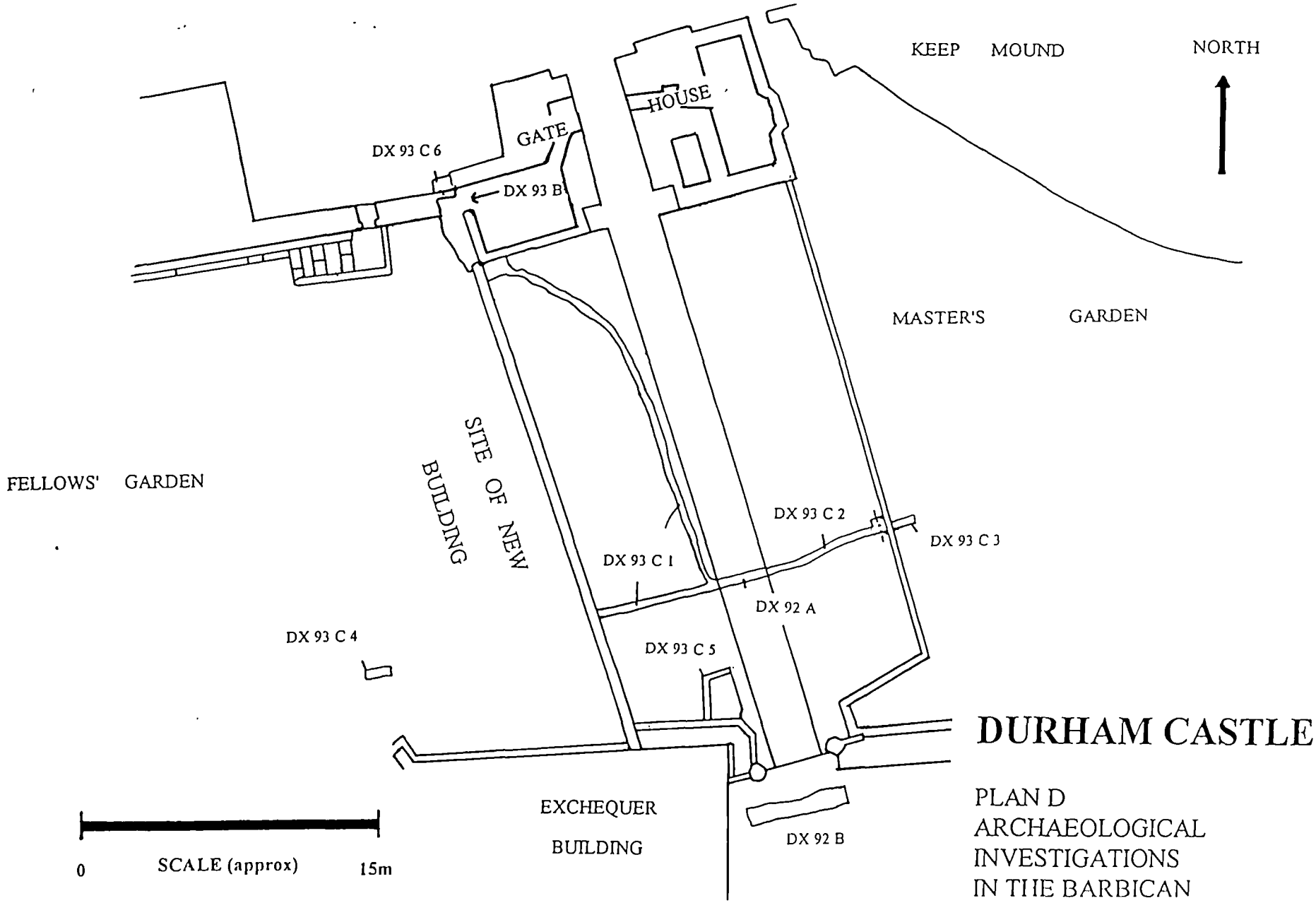


PLAN B: Lambert's plan, 1796

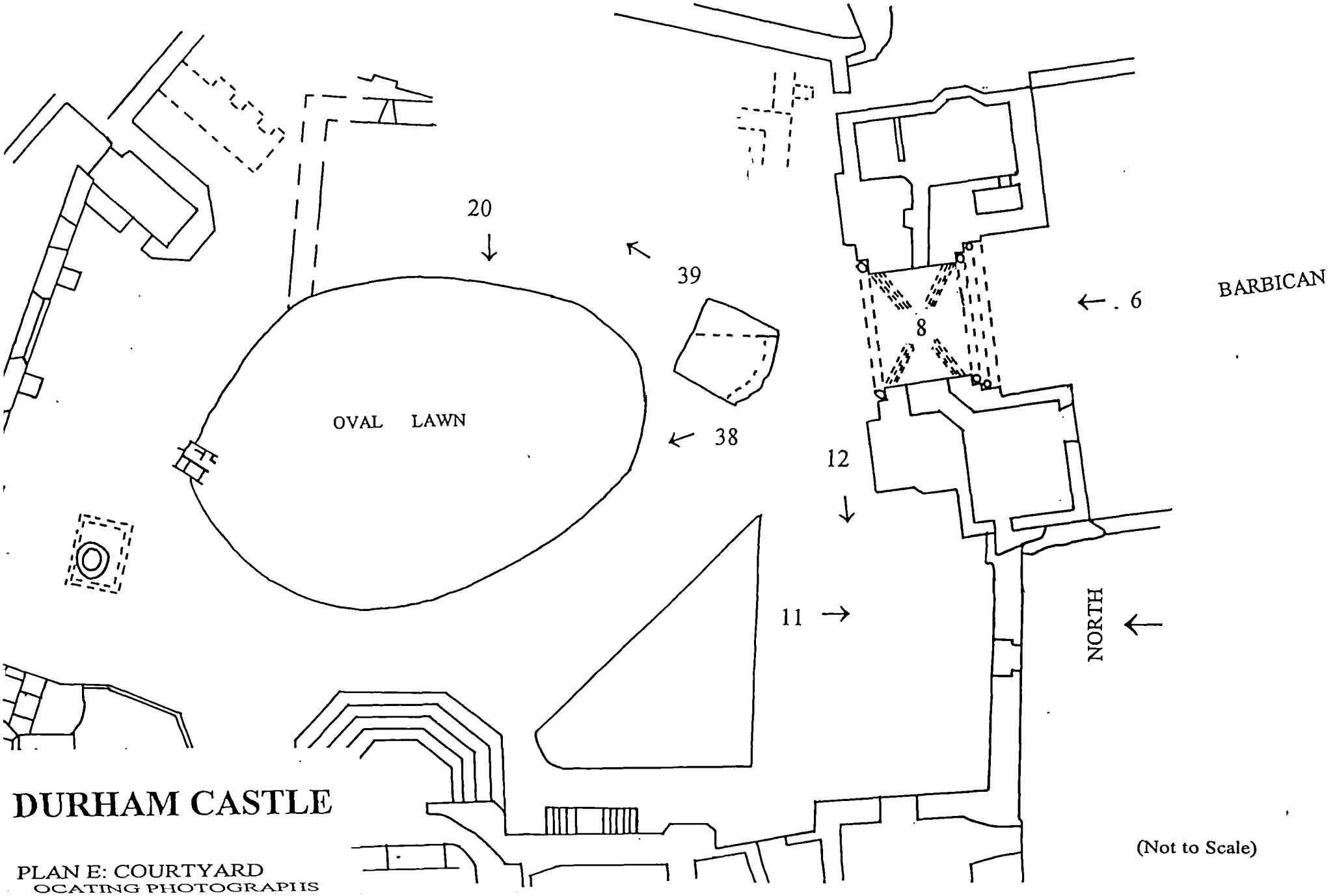


PLAN C: Plan of eighteenth century date (from the V.C.H. 1928 III)



DURHAM CASTLE

PLAN D
ARCHAEOLOGICAL
INVESTIGATIONS
IN THE BARBICAN



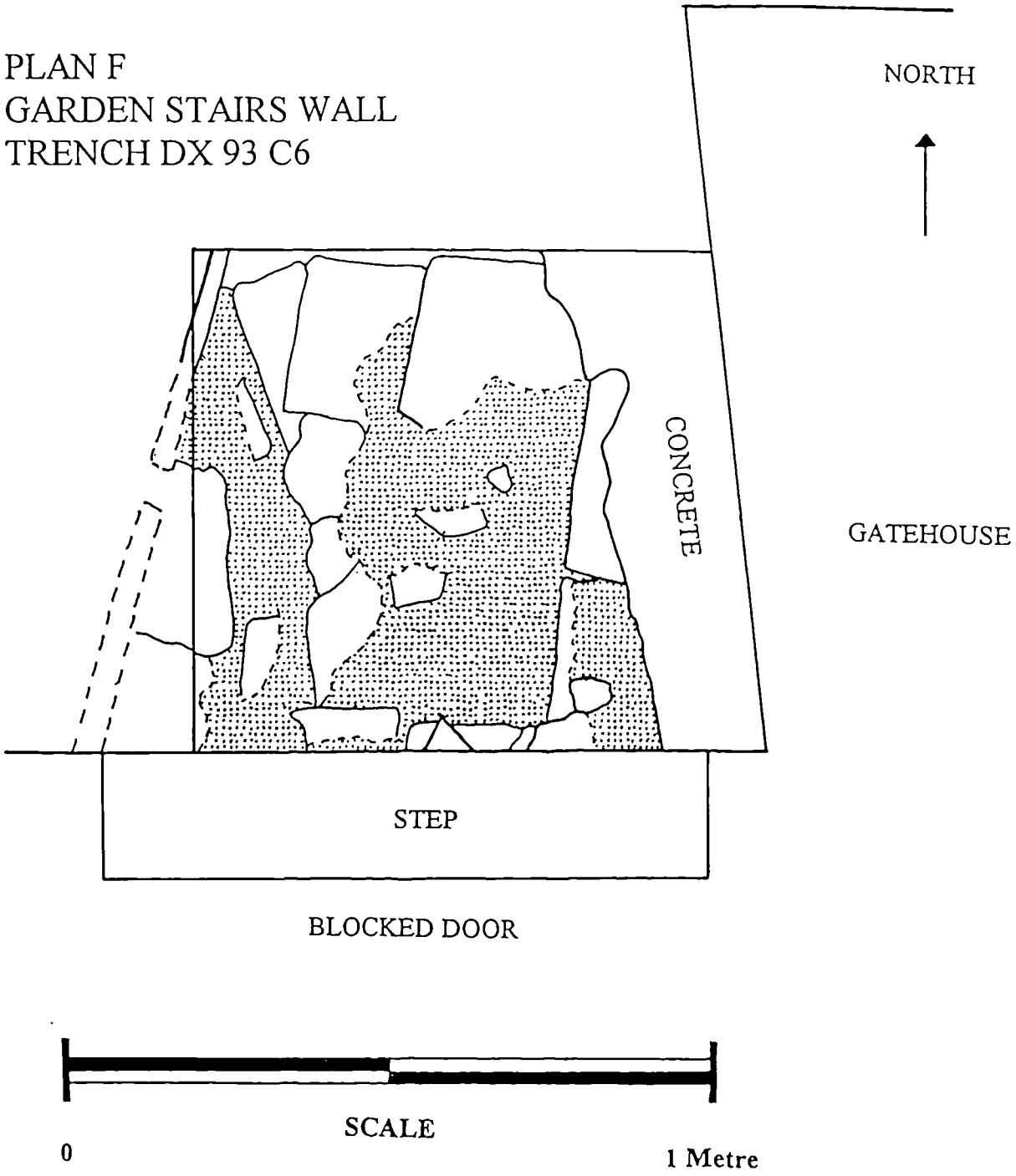
DURHAM CASTLE

PLAN E: COURTYARD
LOCATING PHOTOGRAPHS

(Not to Scale)

DURHAM CASTLE

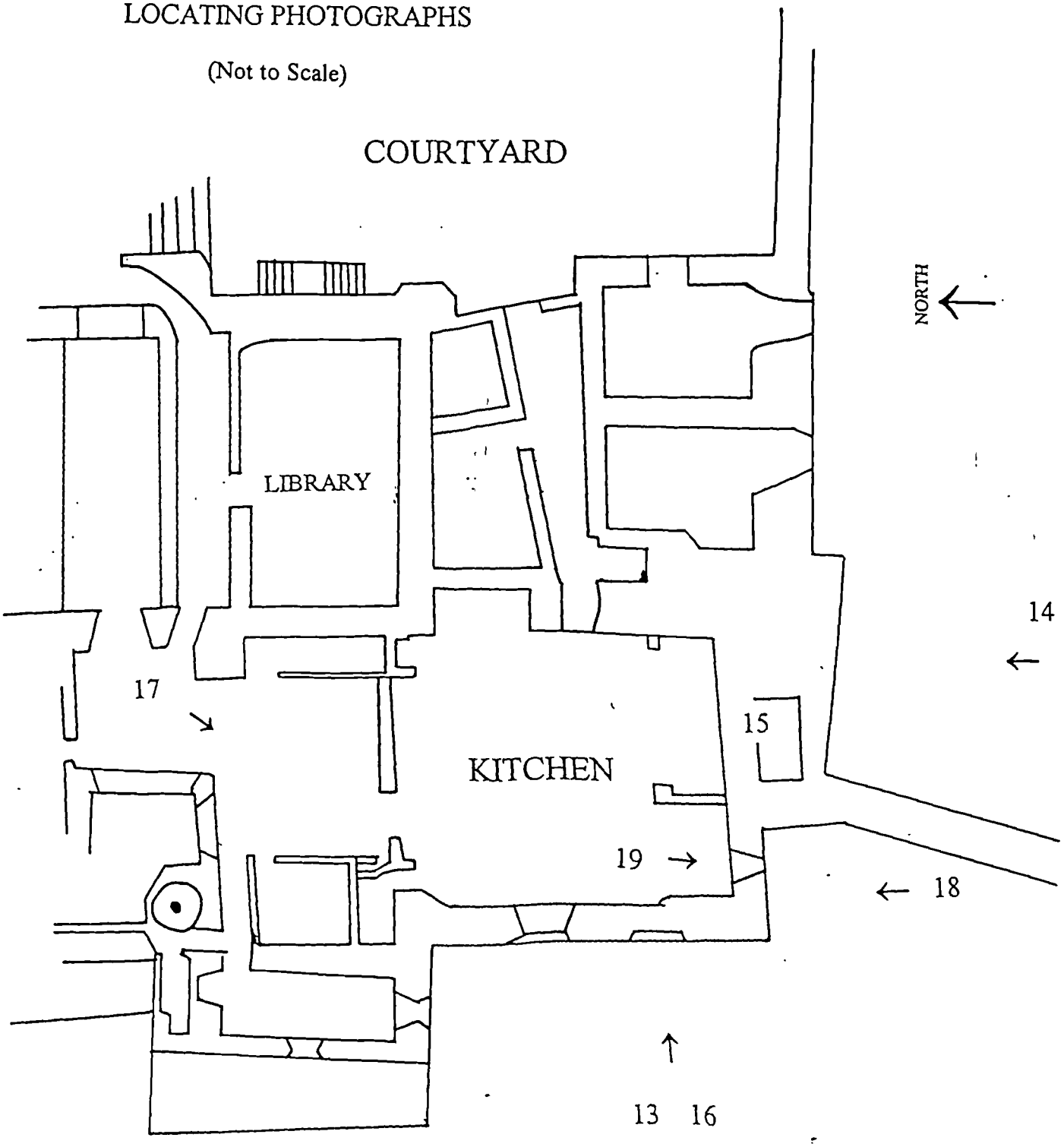
PLAN F
GARDEN STAIRS WALL
TRENCH DX 93 C6

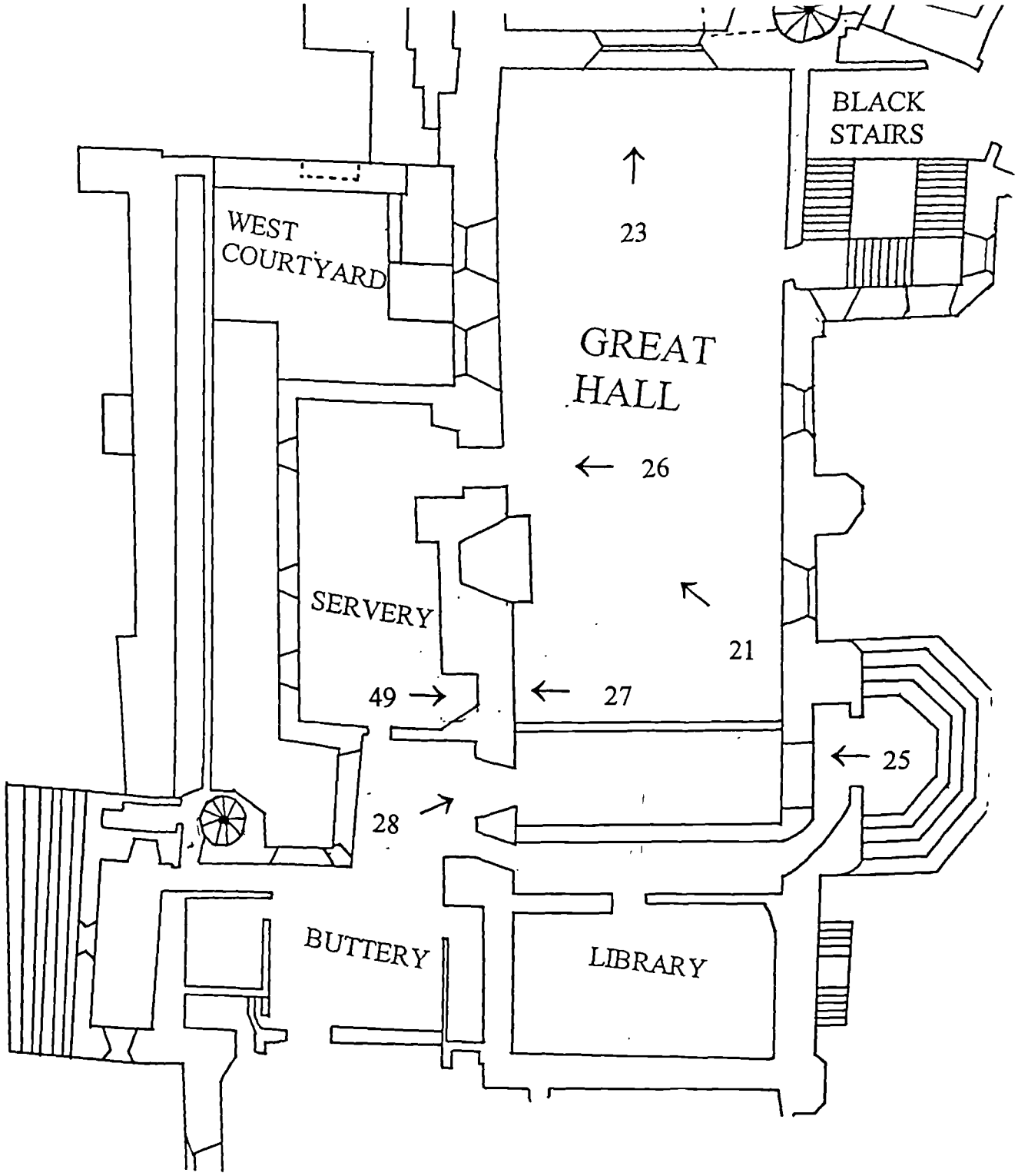


DURHAM CASTLE

PLAN G: KITCHEN AREA
LOCATING PHOTOGRAPHS

(Not to Scale)





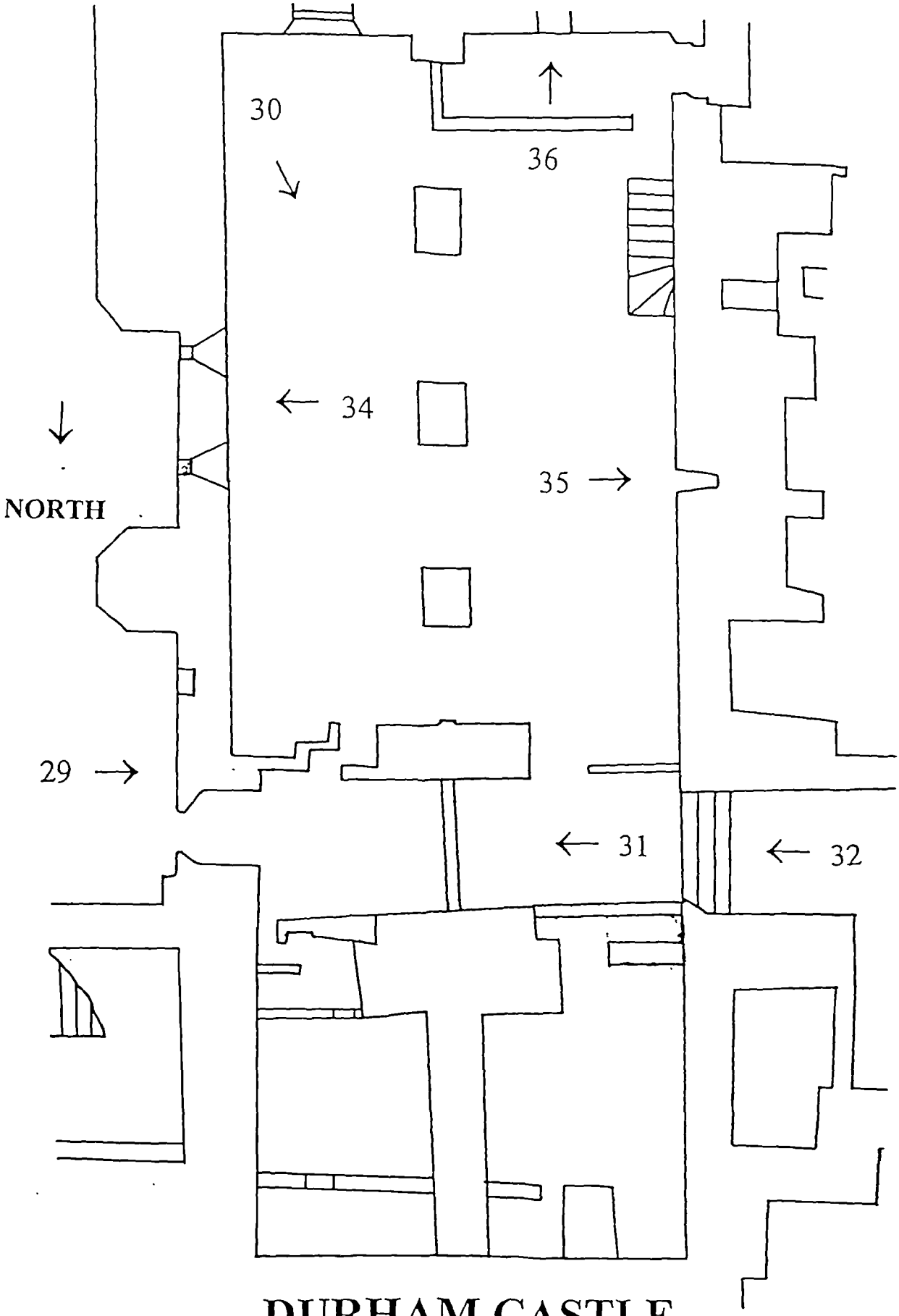
NORTH

↑

DURHAM CASTLE

PLAN H
GREAT HALL,
LOCATING PHOTOGRAPHS

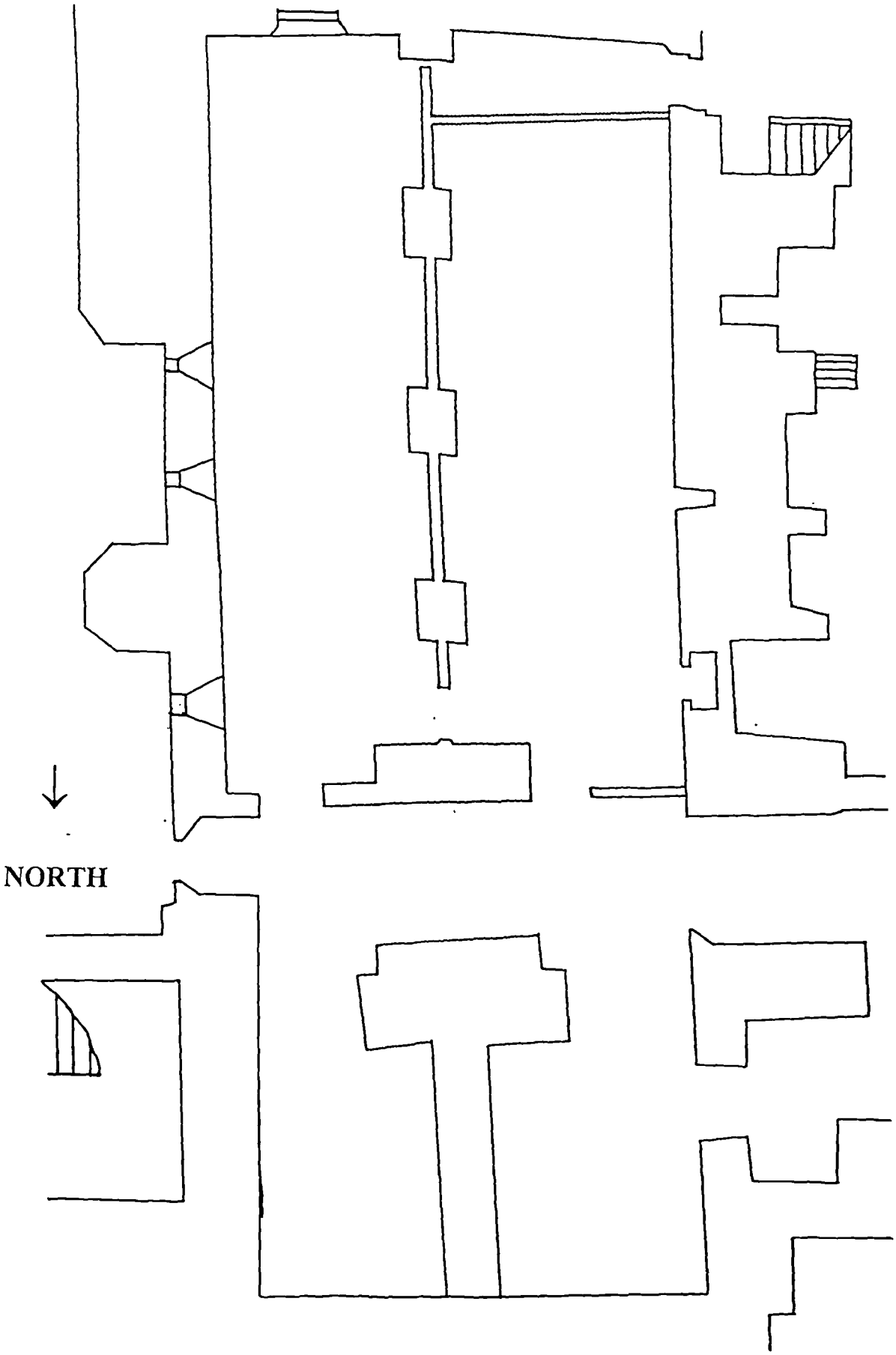
(Not to Scale)



DURHAM CASTLE

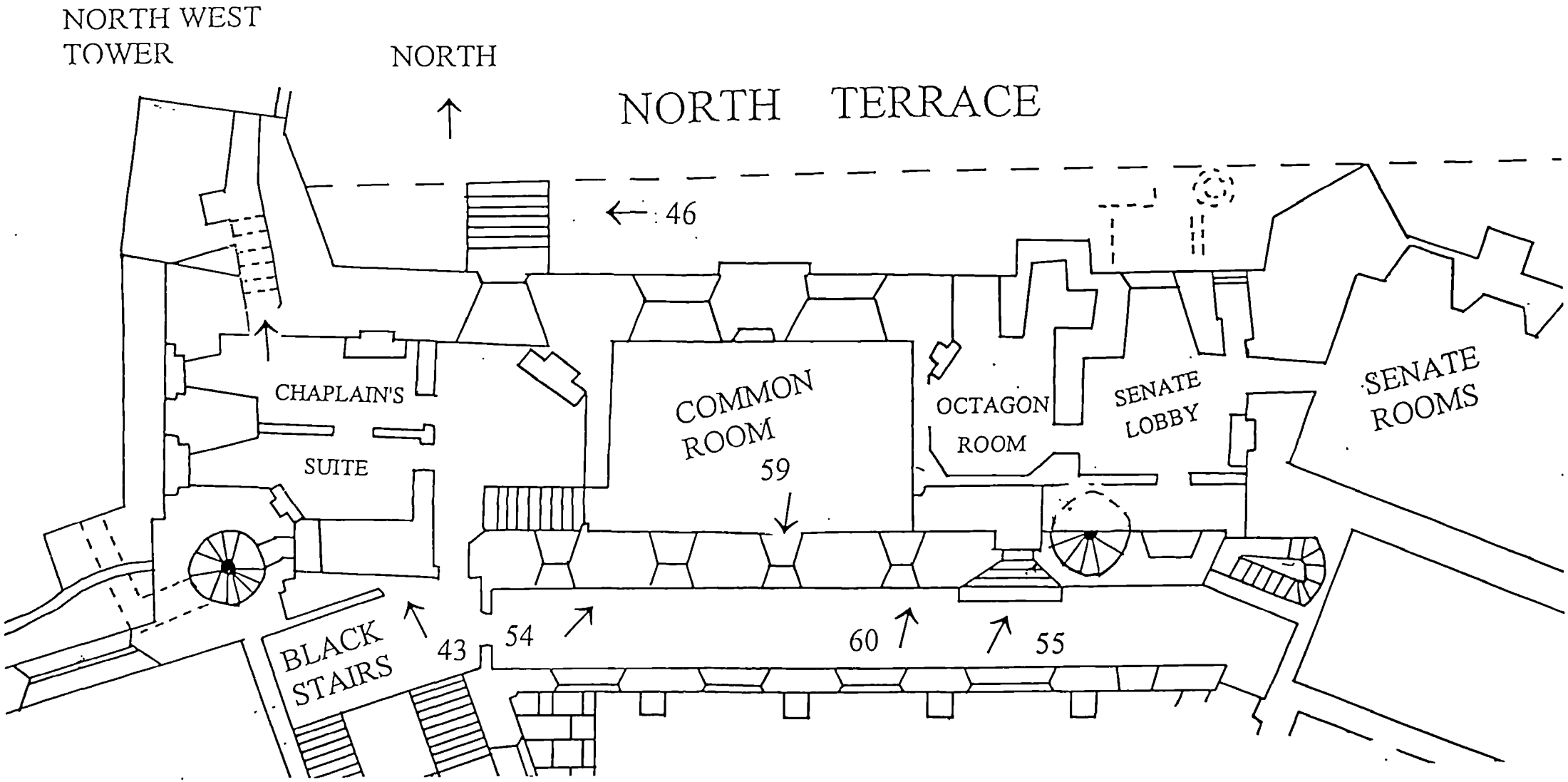
PLAN J
THE UNDERCROFT,
LOCATING PHOTOGRAPHS

(Not to Scale)



DURHAM CASTLE

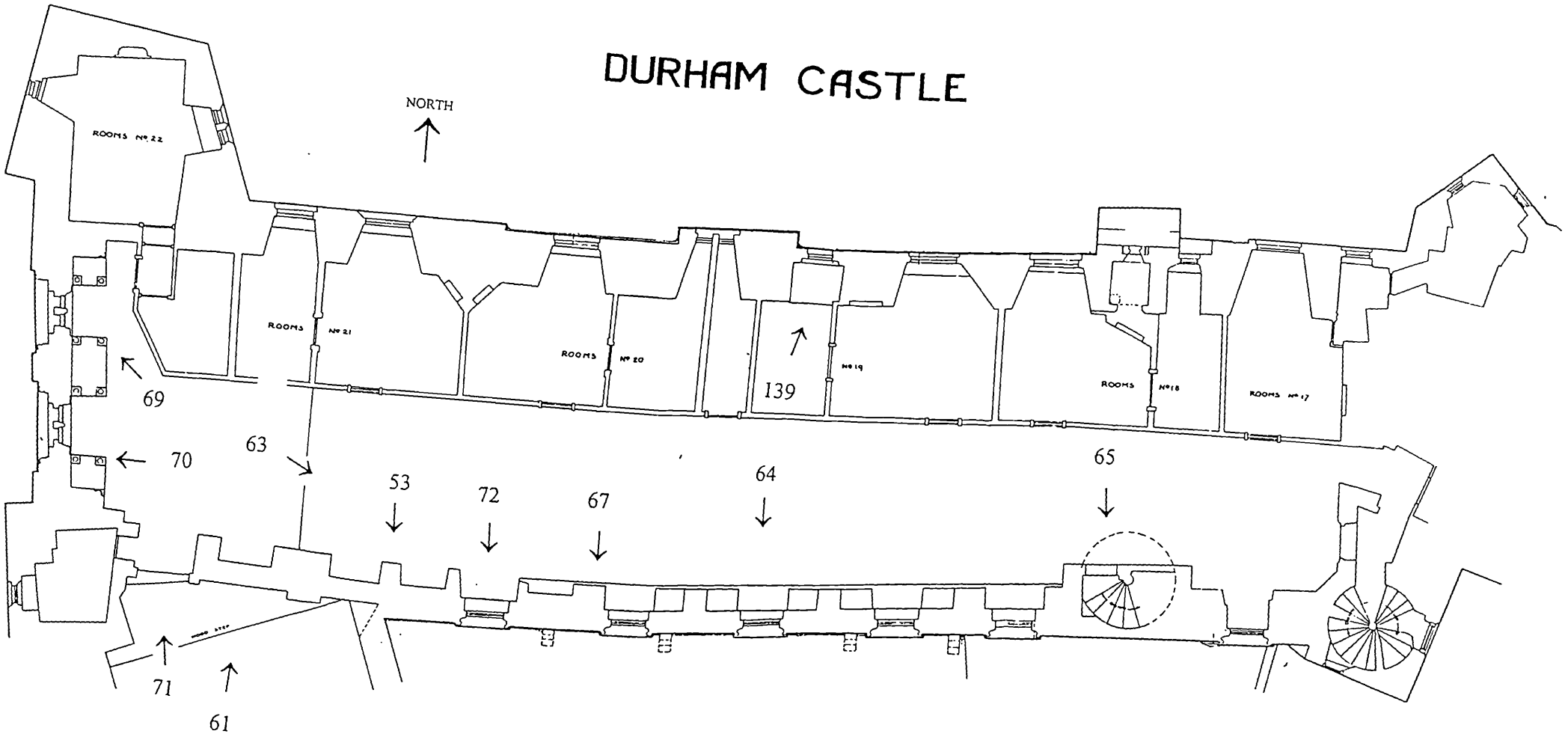
PLAN K
THE UNDERCROFT PRE-1967
(Not to Scale)



DURHAM CASTLE

PLAN L
NORTH RANGE
LOCATING PHOTOGRAPHS

(Not to Scale)



PLAN M: NORMAN GALLERY c. 1934

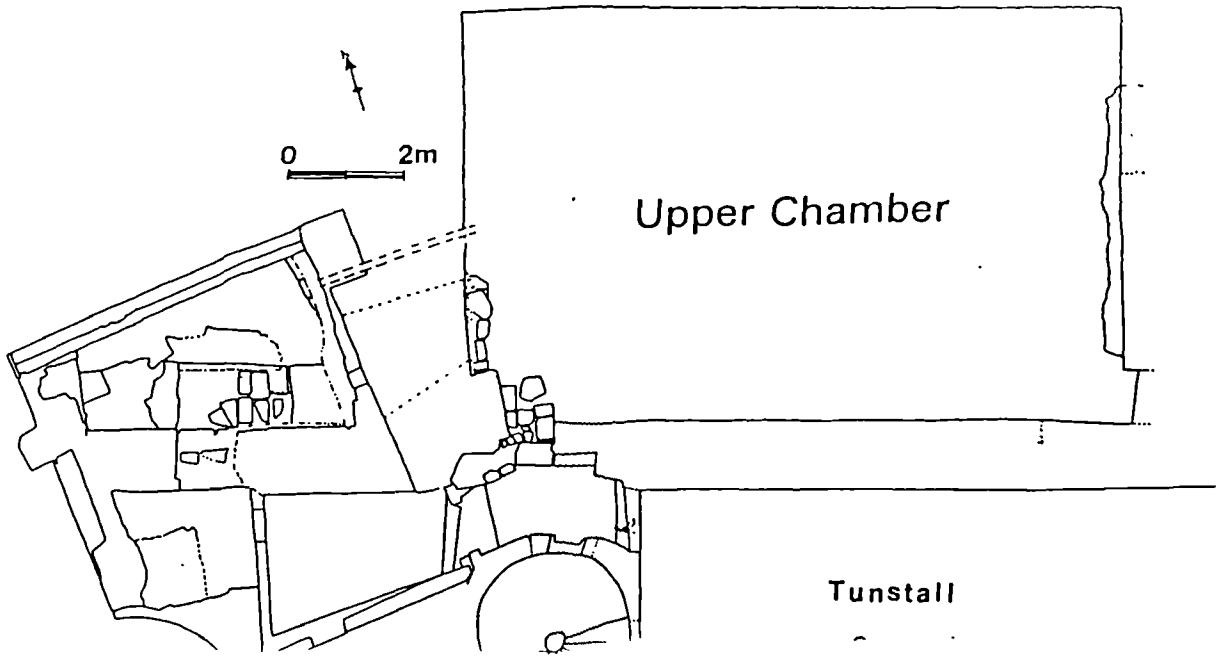
DUDASC (REST)

(UPPER LEVEL OF NORTH HALL)

(Not to Scale)

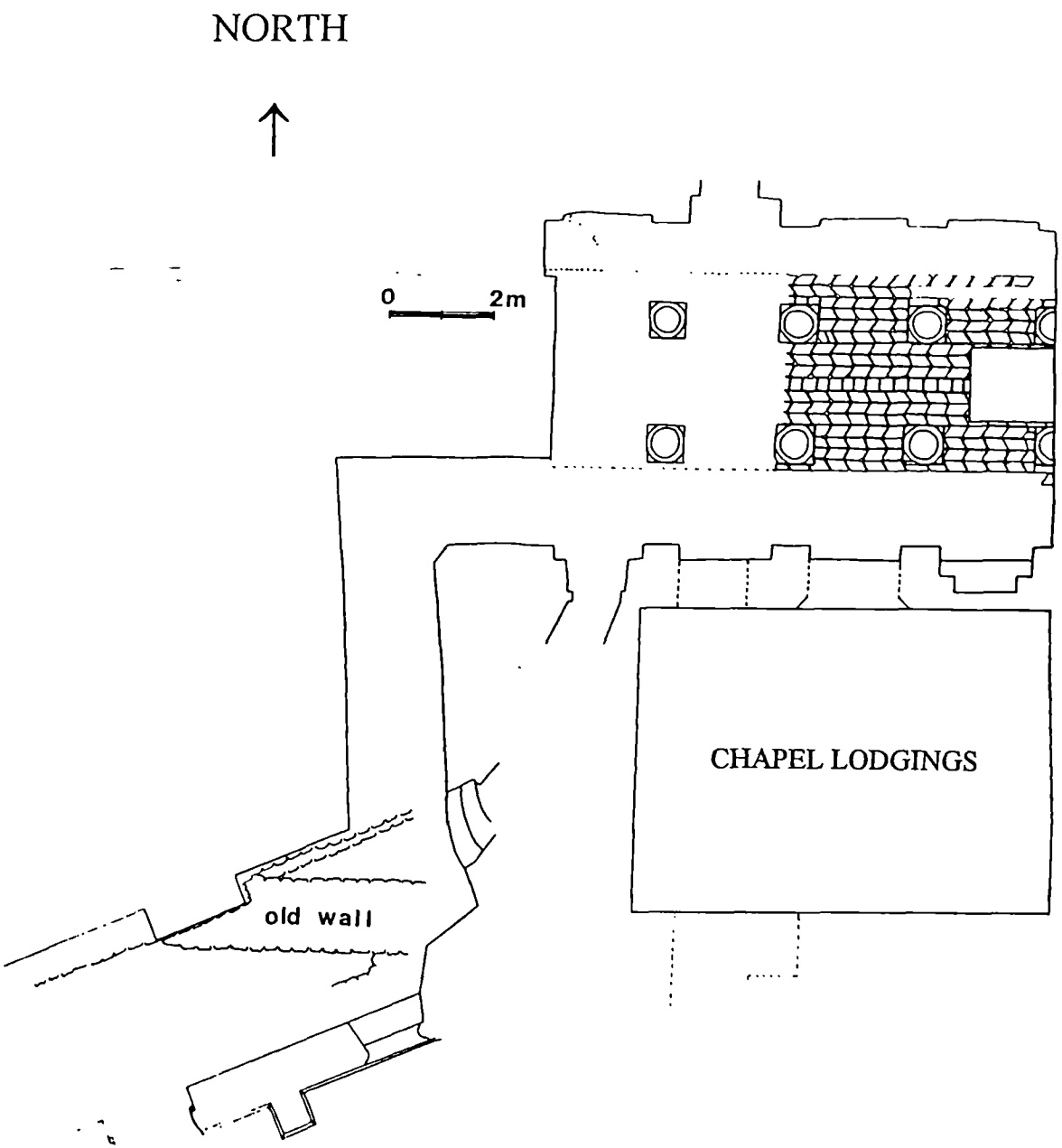
DURHAM CASTLE

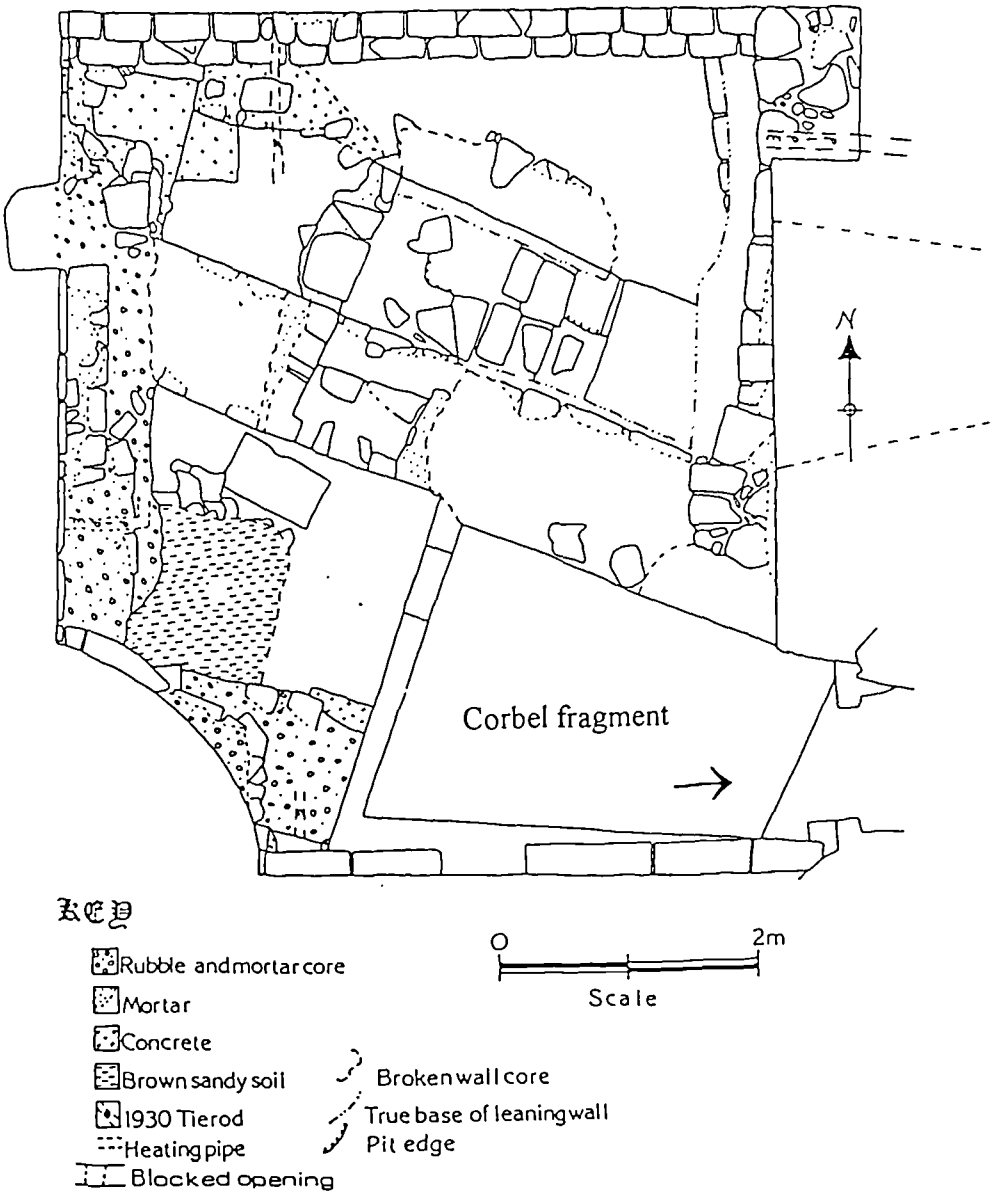
PLAN N
UPPER PART OF
CHAPEL BUILDING



DURHAM CASTLE

PLAN O
LOWER PART OF
CHAPEL BUILDING

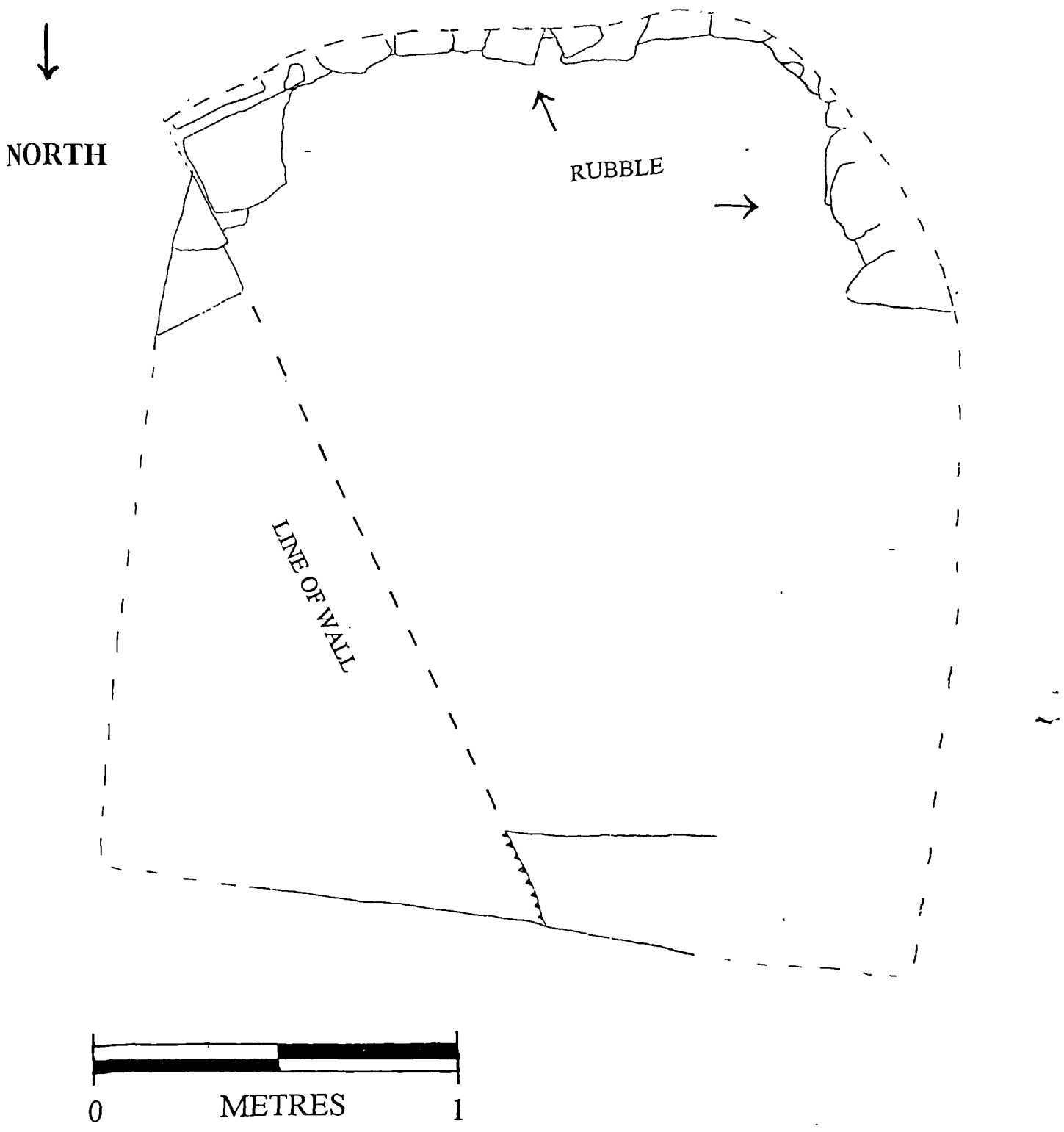




DURHAM CASTLE

PLAN P

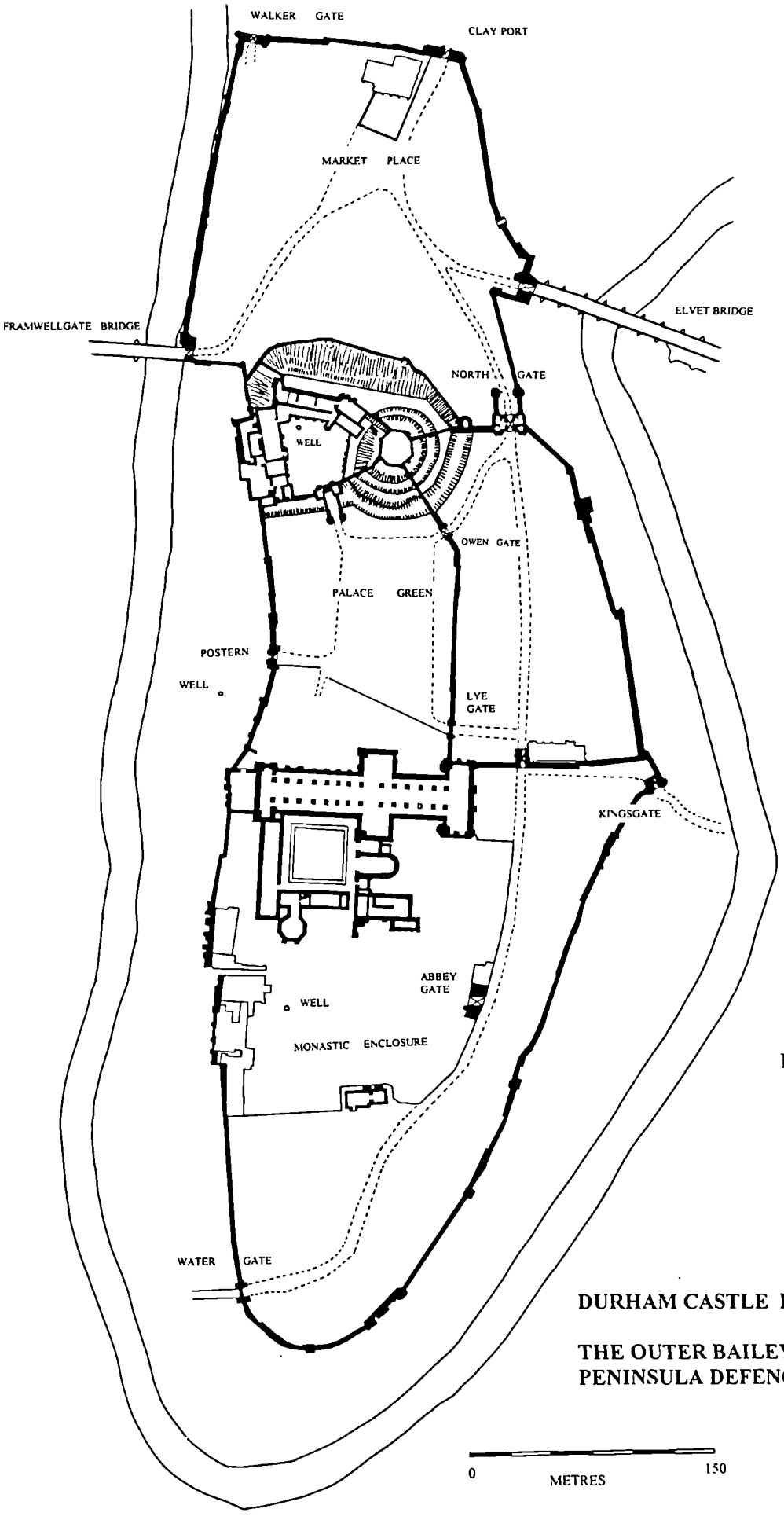
INVESTIGATIONS TO WEST OF NORMAN CHAPEL



SCALE

DURHAM CASTLE

PLAN Q
HEATING TRENCH
(DC 91 A)

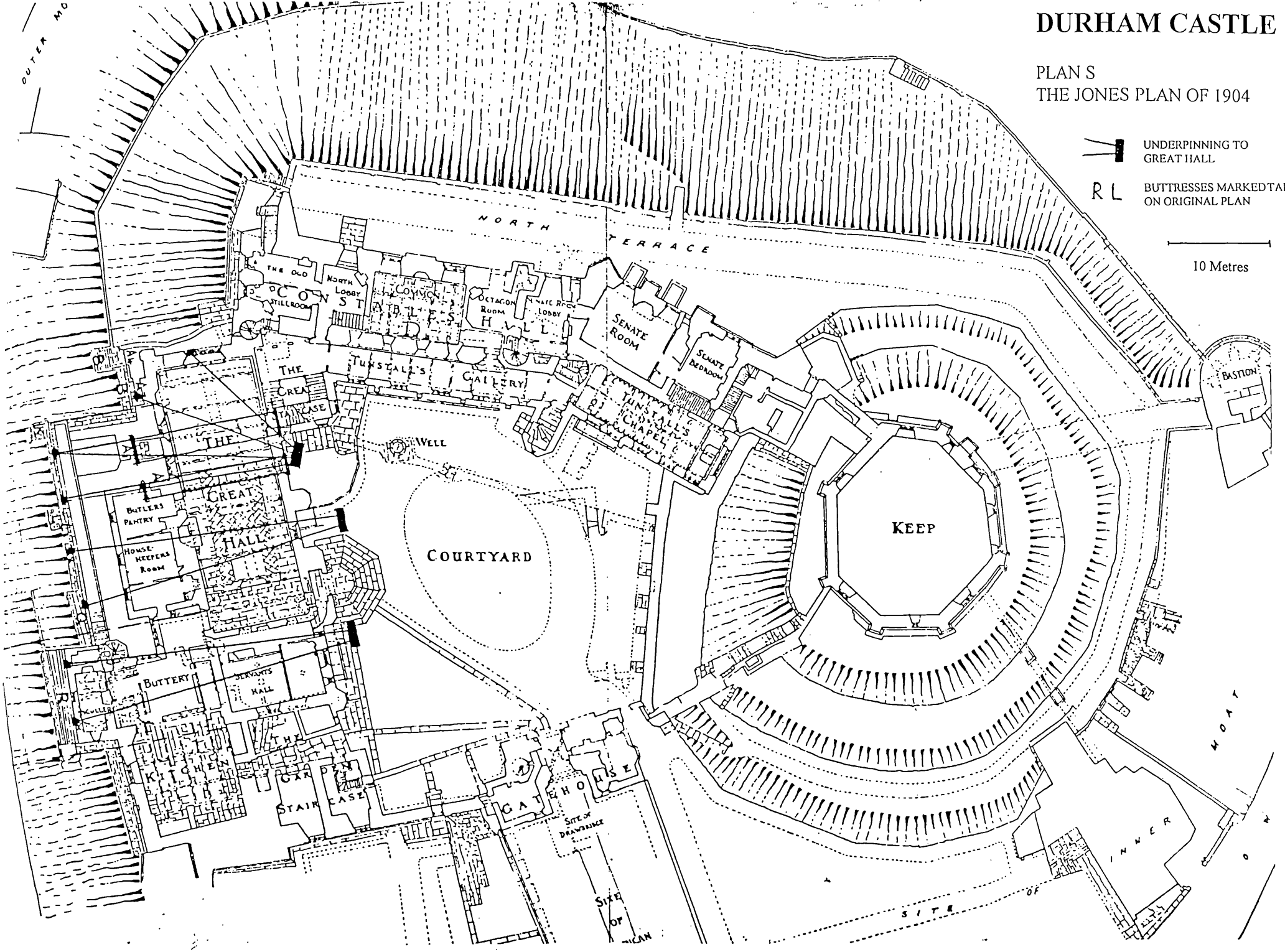


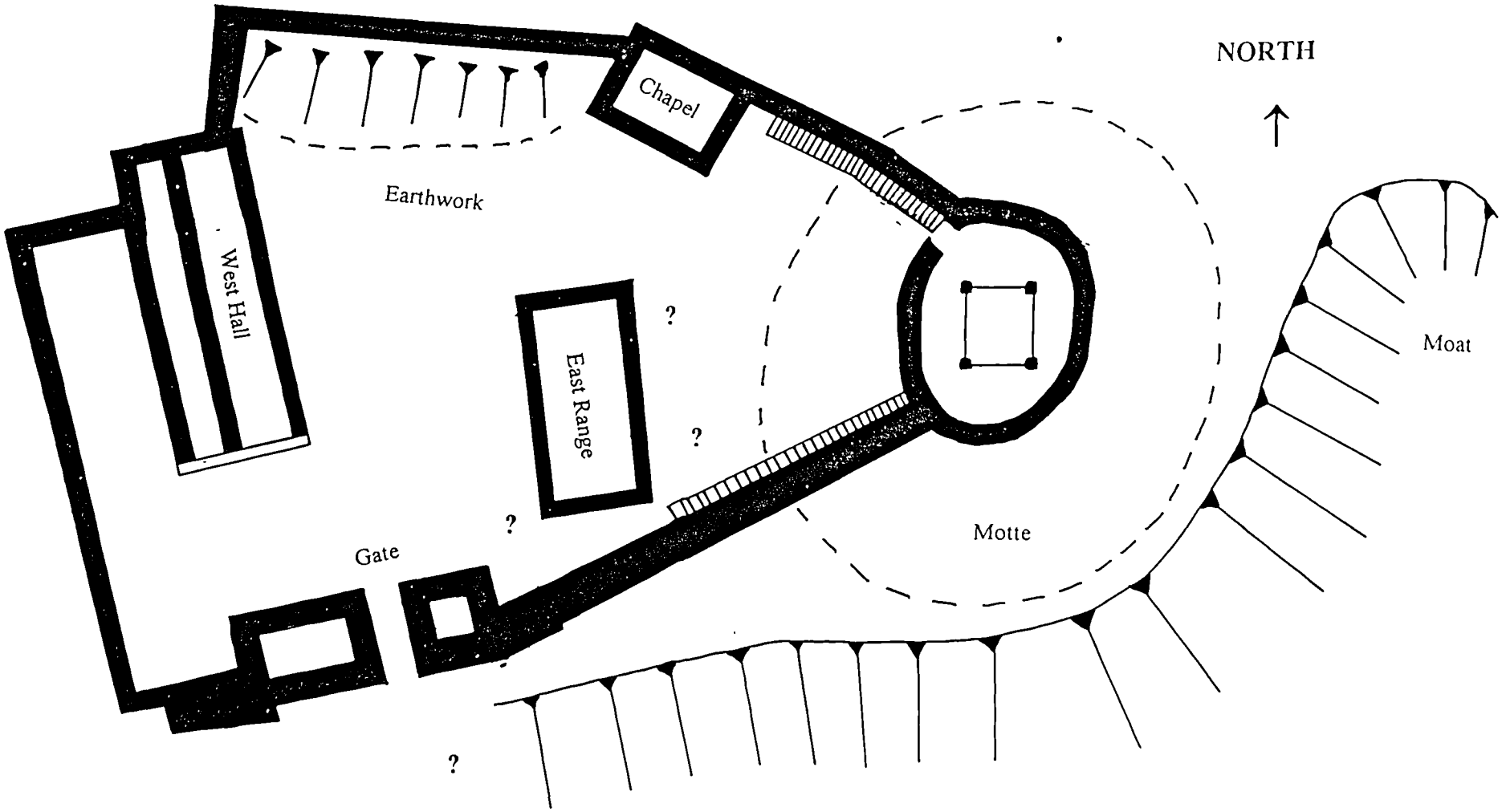
DURHAM CASTLE PLAN R

THE OUTER BAILEY AND PENINSULA DEFENCES

DURHAM CASTLE

PLAN S
THE JONES PLAN OF 1904

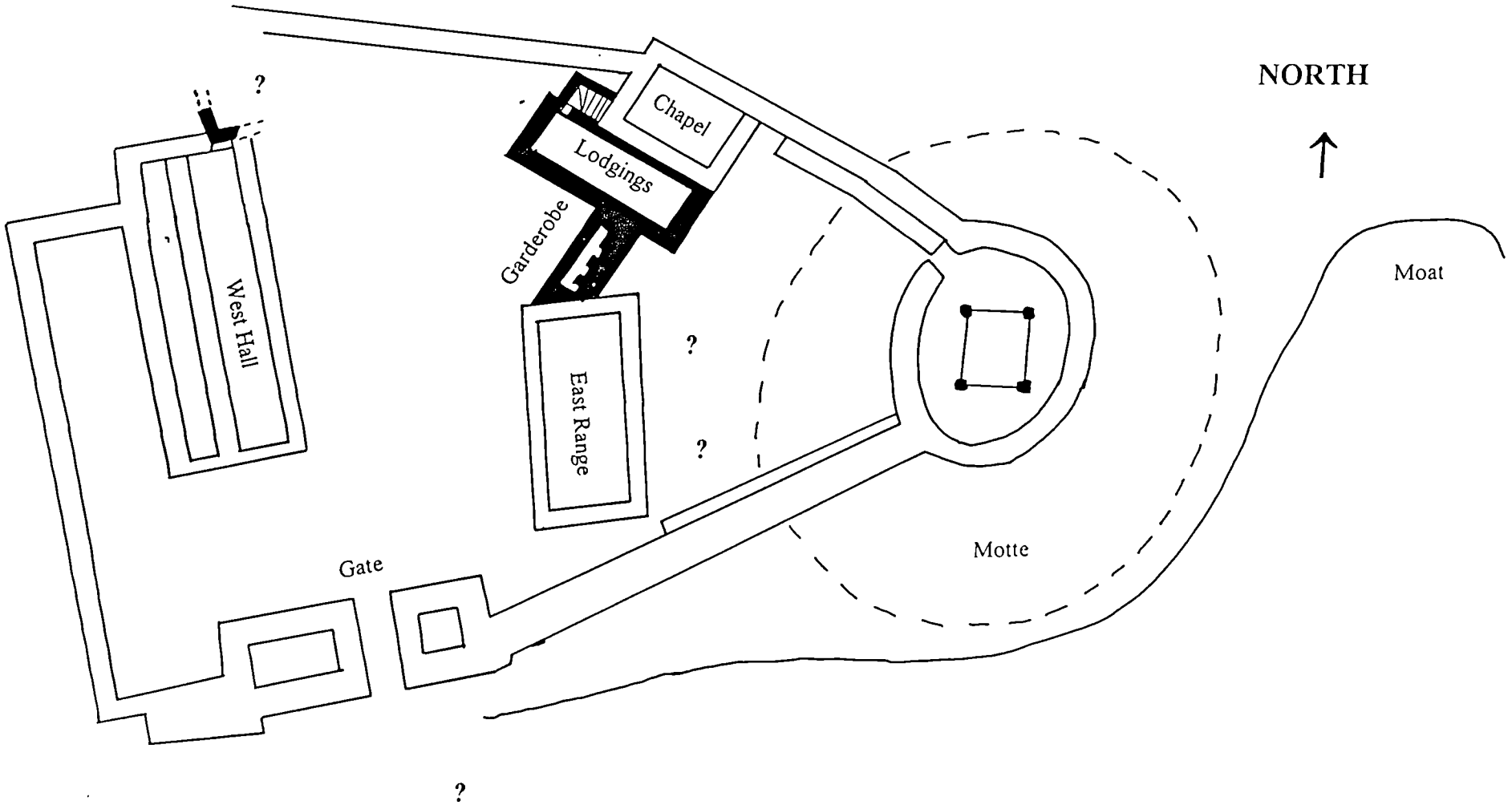




DURHAM CASTLE

PHASE PLAN III
BISHOP WALCHER (1071 - 1080)

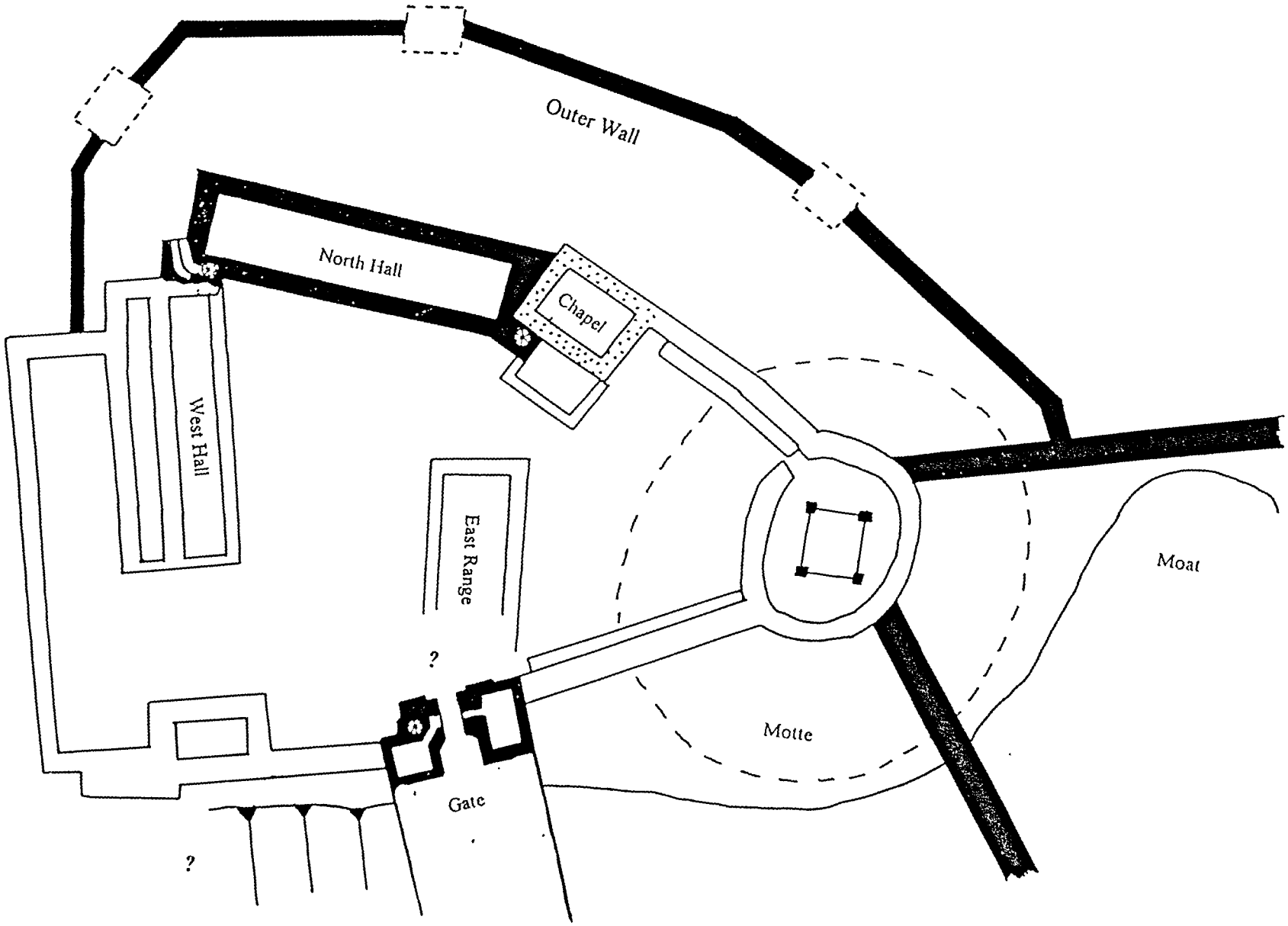
(Not to Scale)



DURHAM CASTLE

PHASE PLAN IV
BISHOP ST. CALAIS (1080 - 1096)

(Not to Scale)

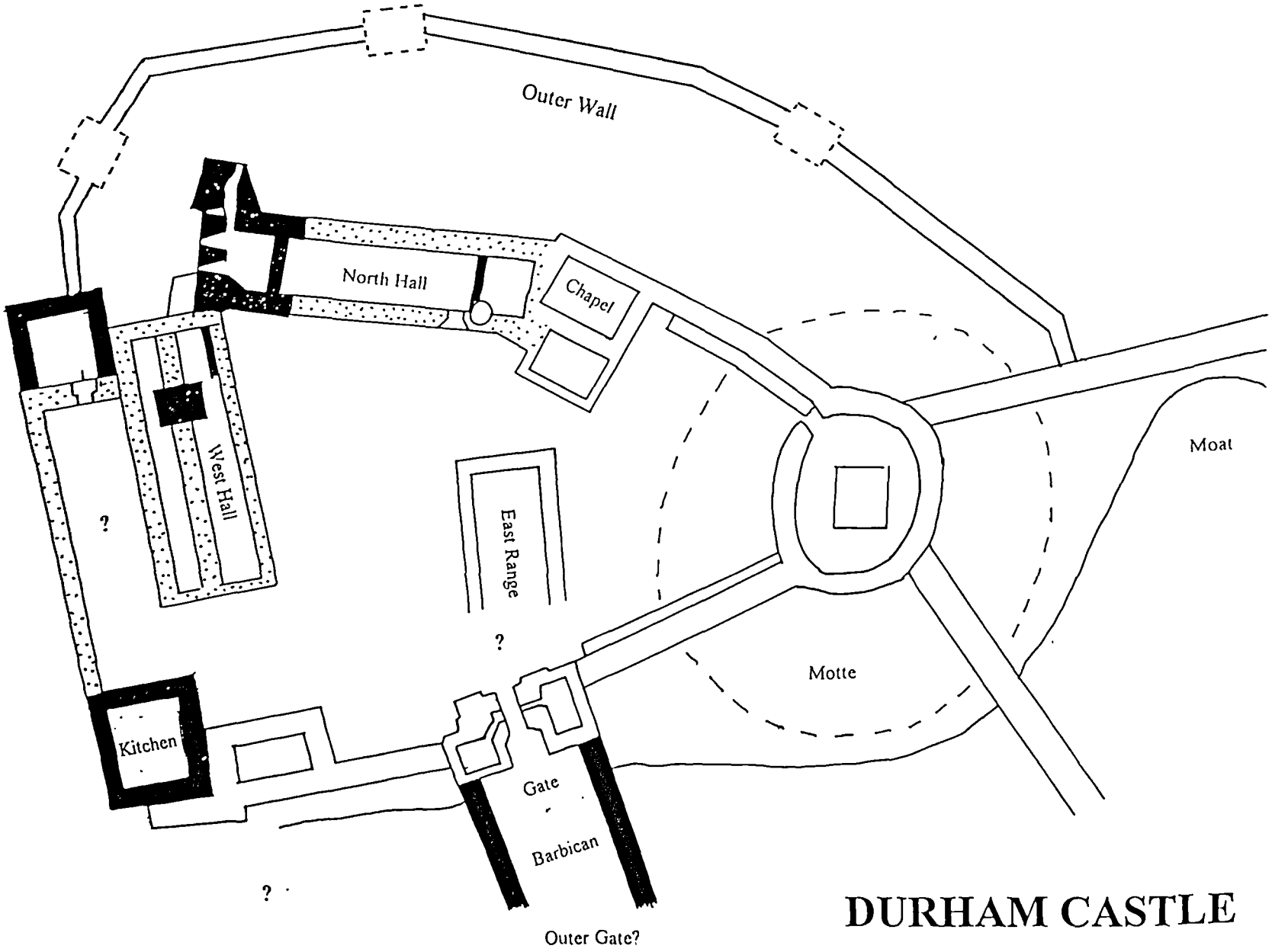


(Not to Scale)

DURHAM CASTLE

PHASE PLAN V

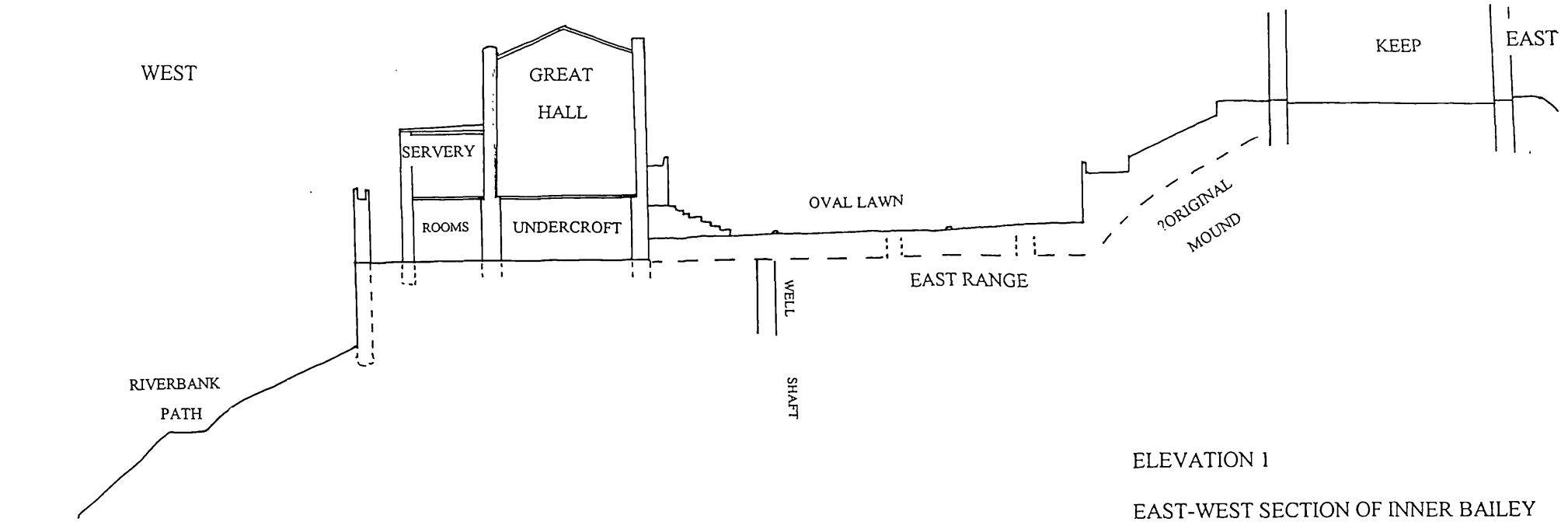
BISHOP FLAMBARD



DURHAM CASTLE

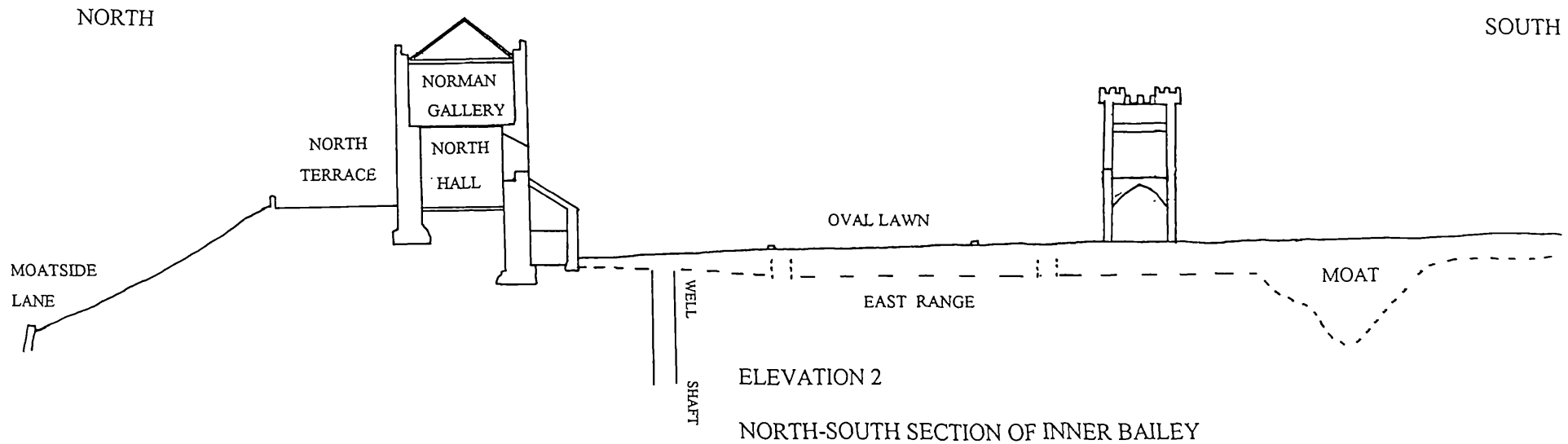
PHASE PLAN VI
BISHOP DU PUISET (1153 - 1195)

(Not to Scale)



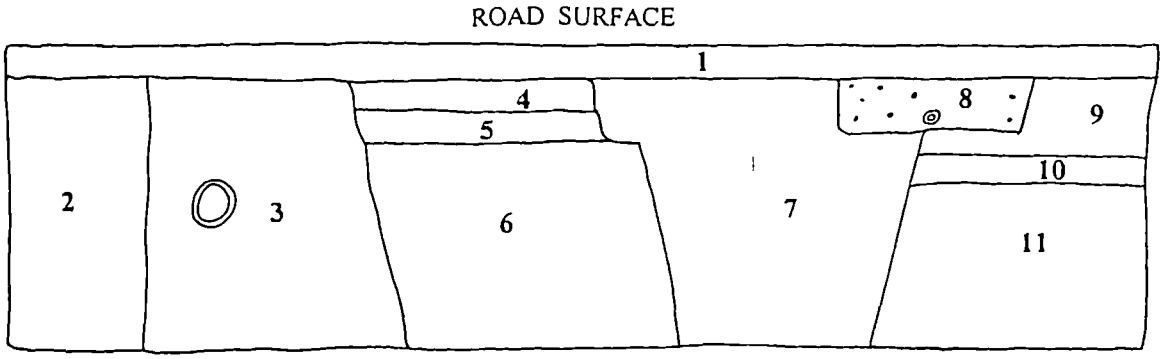
ELEVATION 1

EAST-WEST SECTION OF INNER BAILEY



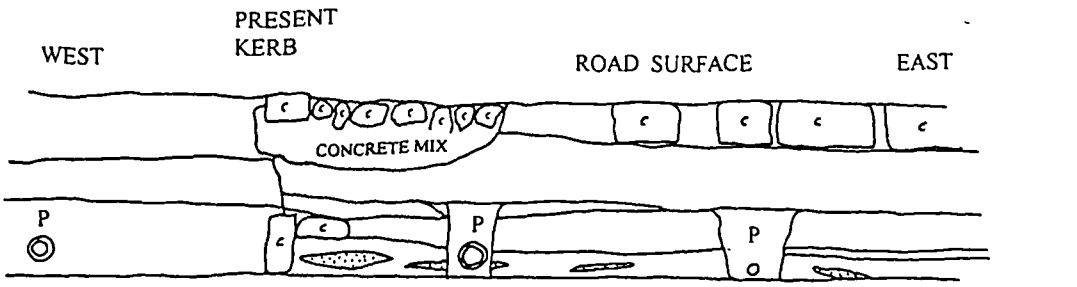
ELEVATION 2

NORTH-SOUTH SECTION OF INNER BAILEY



WEST SECTION OF DX 92 B EAST

1. Tarmac (two layers)
2. Brick chamber
3. Cable trench (Telecom)
4. Silty sand
5. Pebbles in light grey ash
6 Brown grey loam with stone fragments
7. Trench with loose fill
8 Cable trench
9. Stones in dark matrix
10 Black silt
11 Packed stones in dark silt

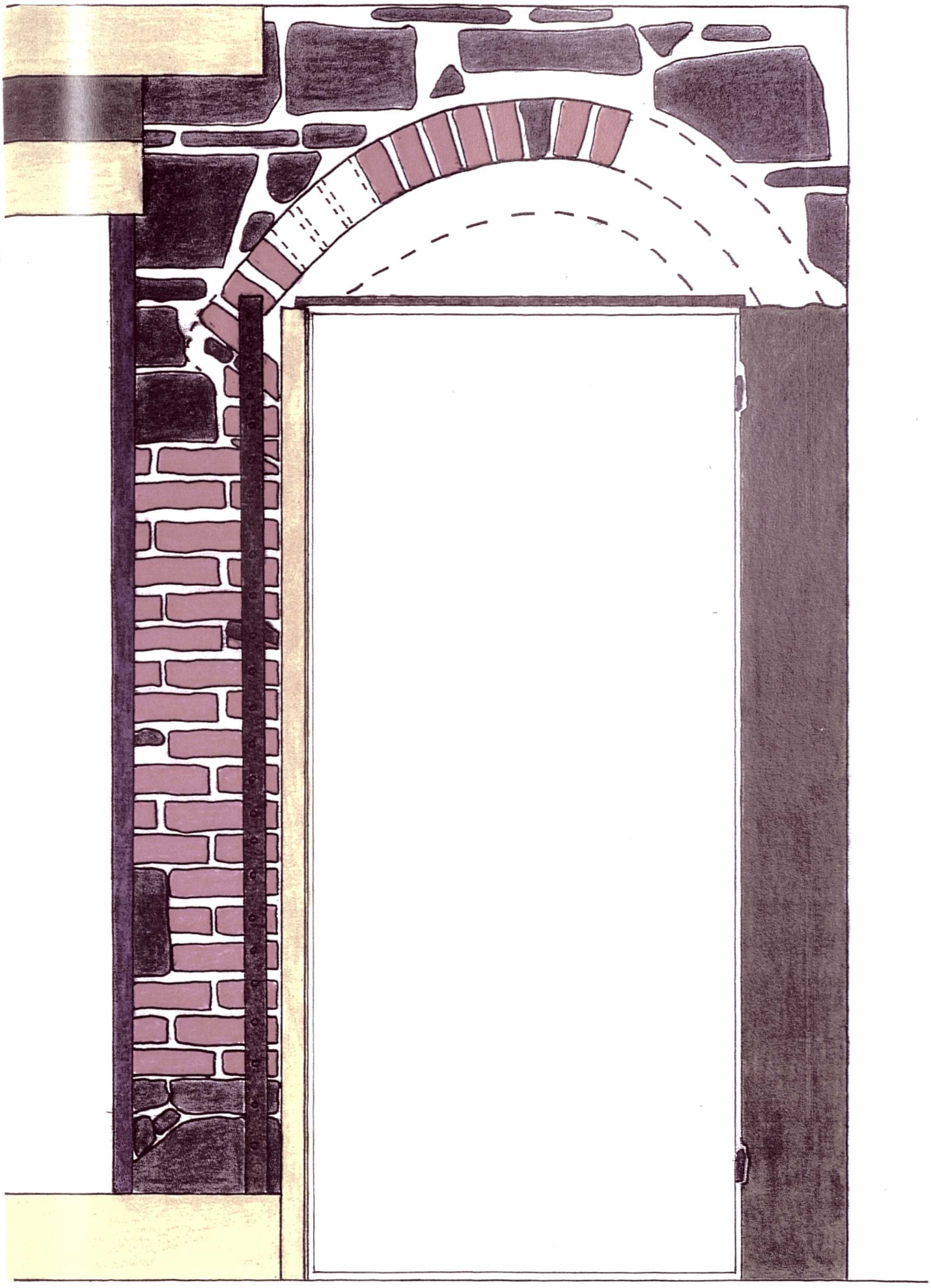


P = PIPE TRENCH

= LENS OF SAND

DURHAM CASTLE

ELEVATION 3
SECTIONS THROUGH BARBICAN ROADWAY



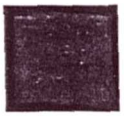
ELEVATION 4. WEST DOOR IN WEST GATE TOWER

(Key is on next page)

KEY TO ELEVATION 4

BRICK

YELLOW SANDSTONE



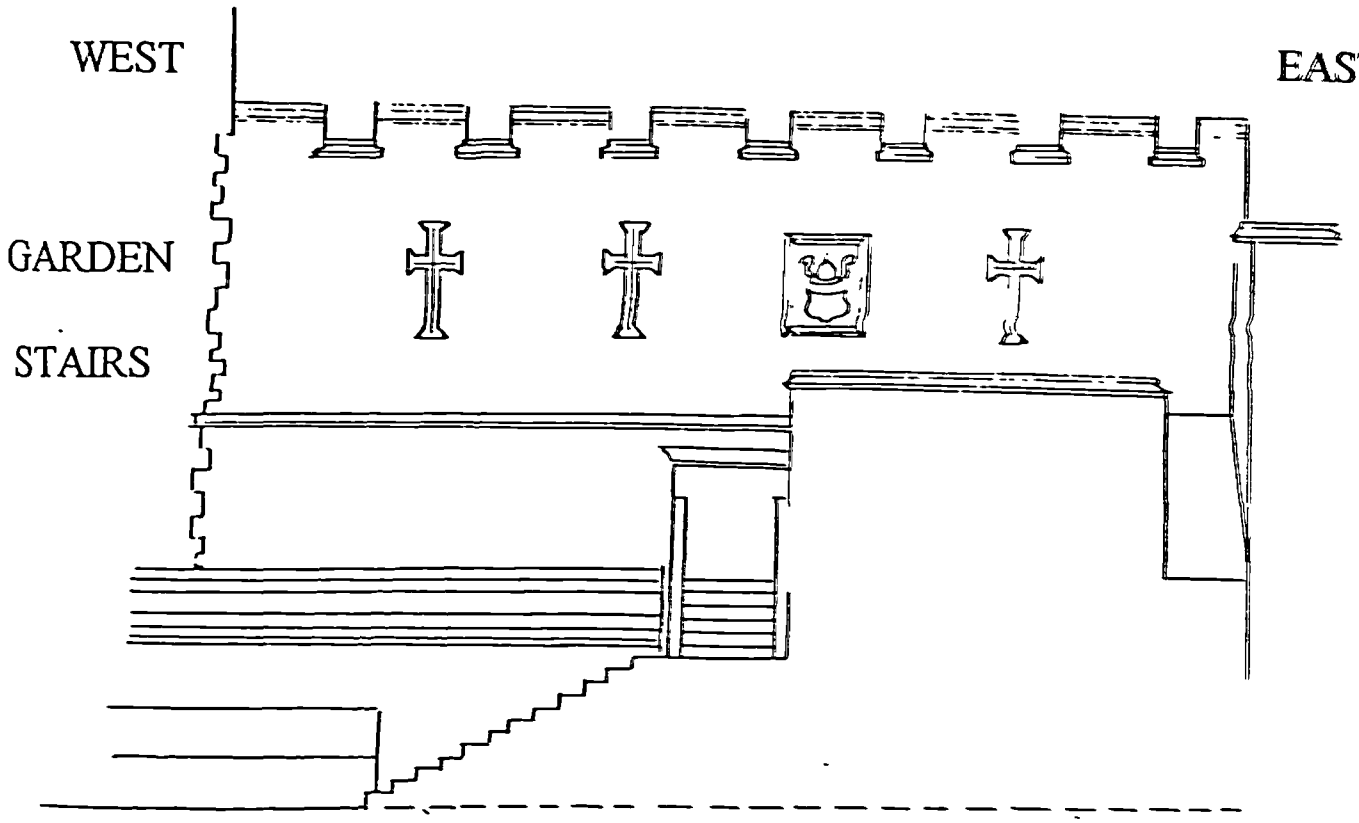
GREY SANDSTONE

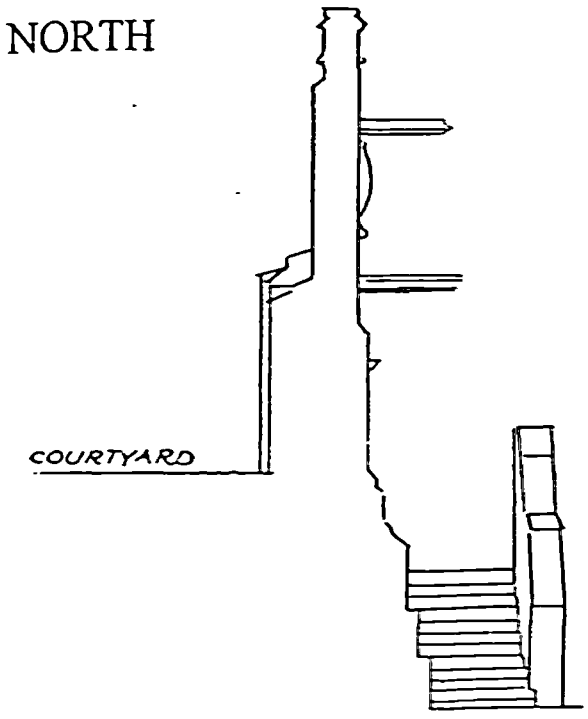
BARE WOOD

PAINTED WOOD

PLASTER

METAL



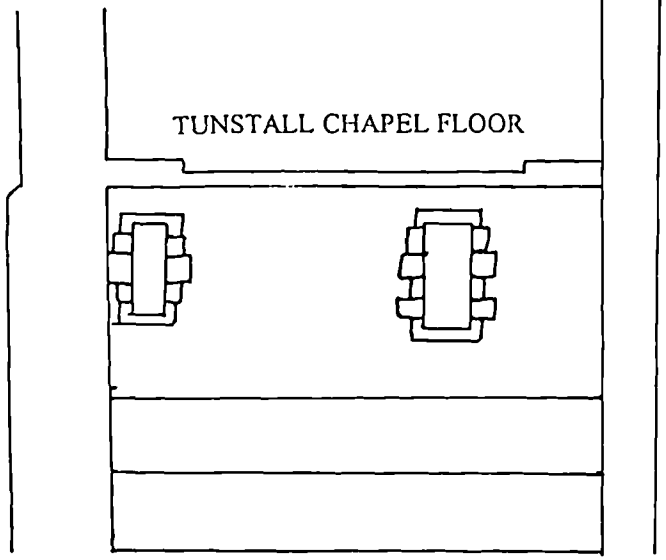


DURHAM CASTLE

ELEVATION 6 DUDASC (REST)

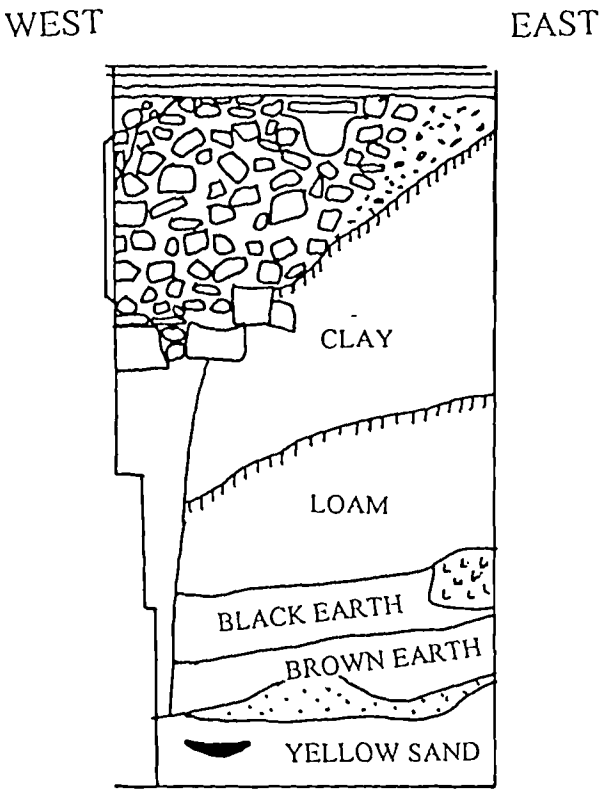
GARDEN STAIRS WALL
ELEVATION AND SECTION

DURHAM CASTLE



ELEVATION 7
EAST END OF CHAPEL LODGINGS
GROUND FLOOR, (After Simpson & Hatley)

(Not to Scale)



ELEVATION 8
SECTION THROUGH MOTTE
(After Simpson & Hatley)

= CHARCOAL
= BURIED TURF LINE
D = DRAIN
= LIGHT FILL
= BROWN SAND
S - STONE
= RUBBLE
G GUTTER

(Not to Scale)

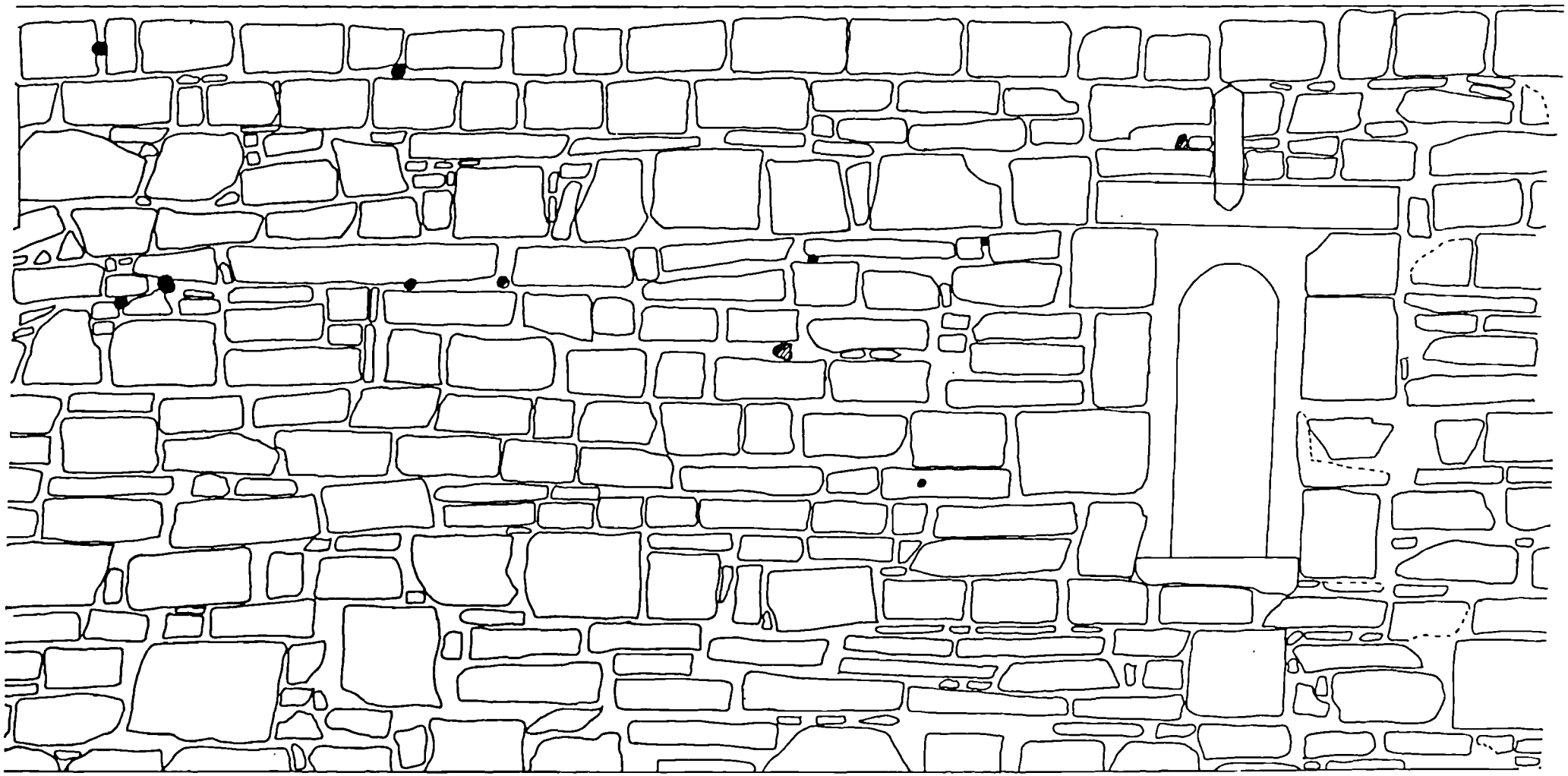
DURHAM CASTLE

ELEVATION 9

EAST ELEVATION OF GREAT HALL

SOUTH

NORTH



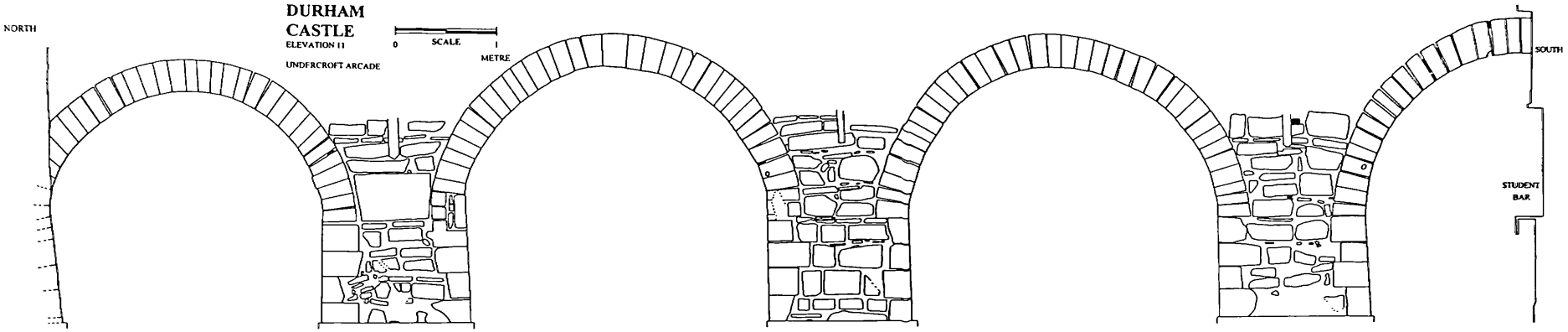
PEG HOLE

PEG HOLE WITH REMNANT WOOD

DURHAM CASTLE
ELEVATION 10

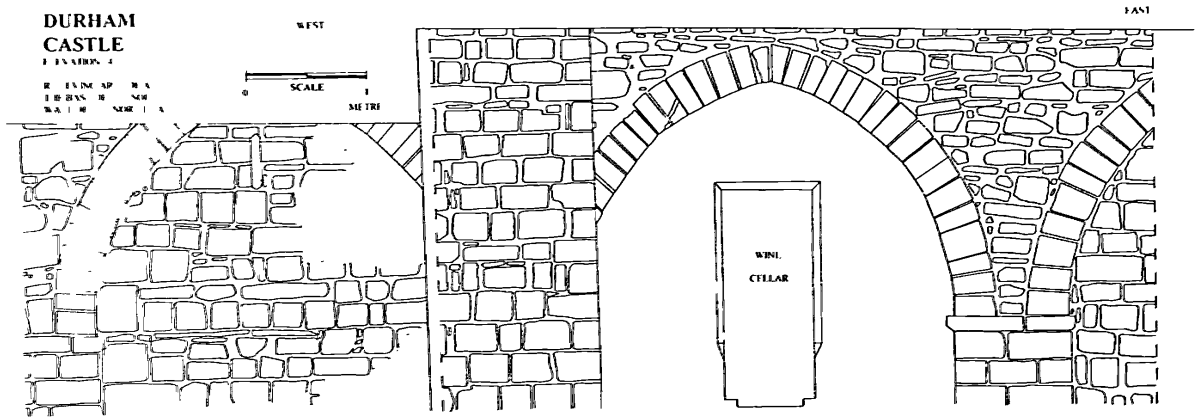
UNDERCROFT WEST WALL

0 METRES 1



DURHAM CASTLE

ELEVATIONS 11 & 14



DURHAM CASTLE

ELEVATION 12 DUDASC (REST)

SOUTH ELEVATION OF NORTH HALL

WEST

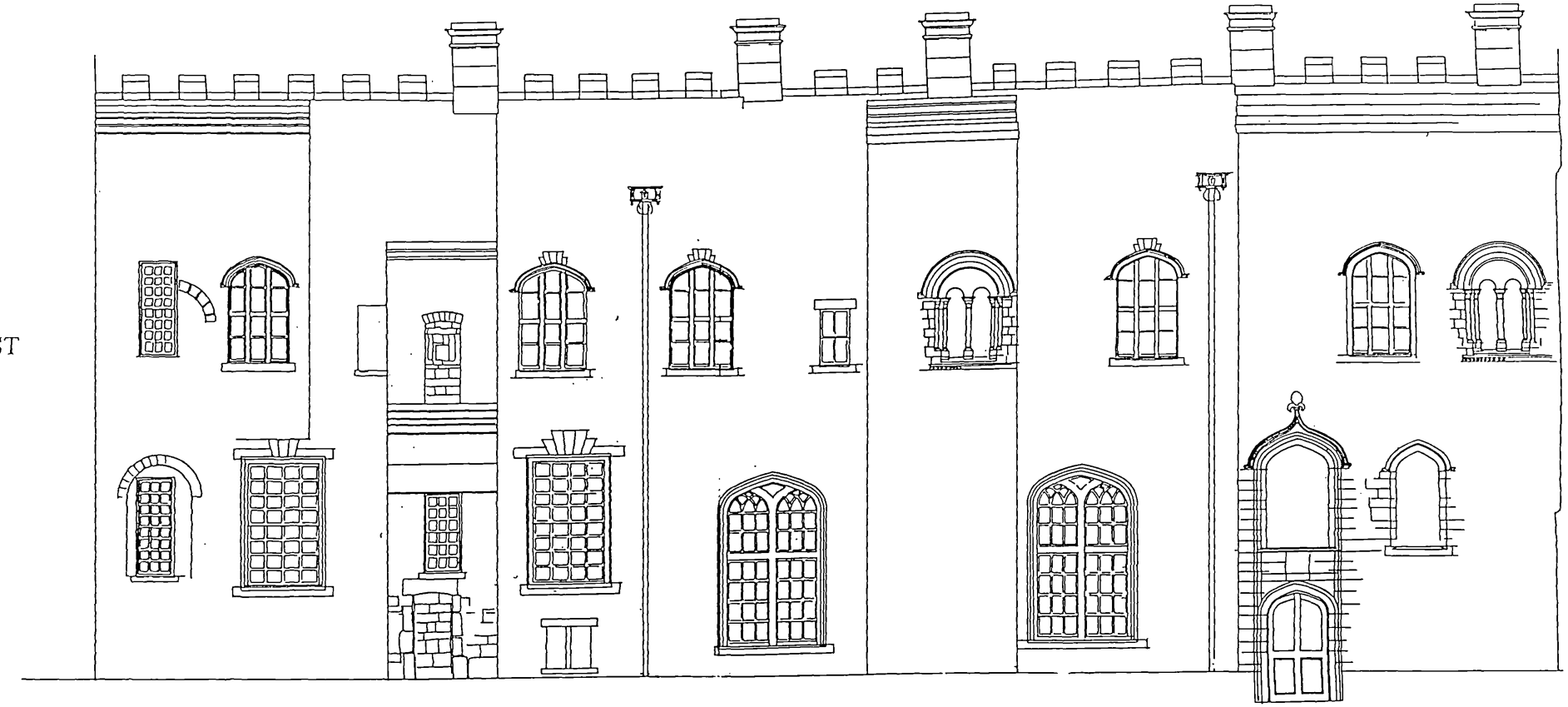
EAST

DURHAM CASTLE.

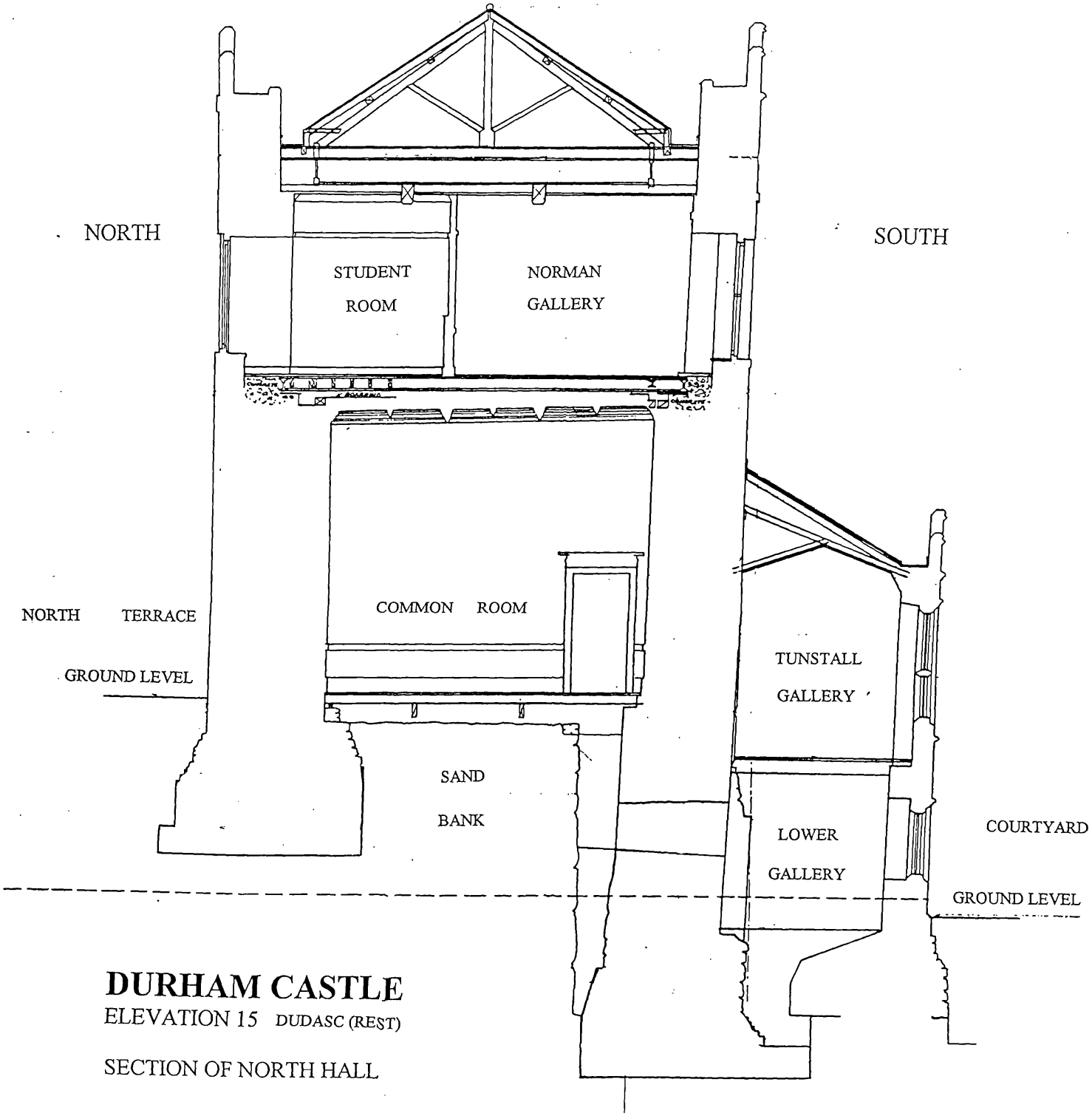
ELEVATION 13 DUDASC (REST)

NORTH ELEVATION OF NORTH HALL

EAST



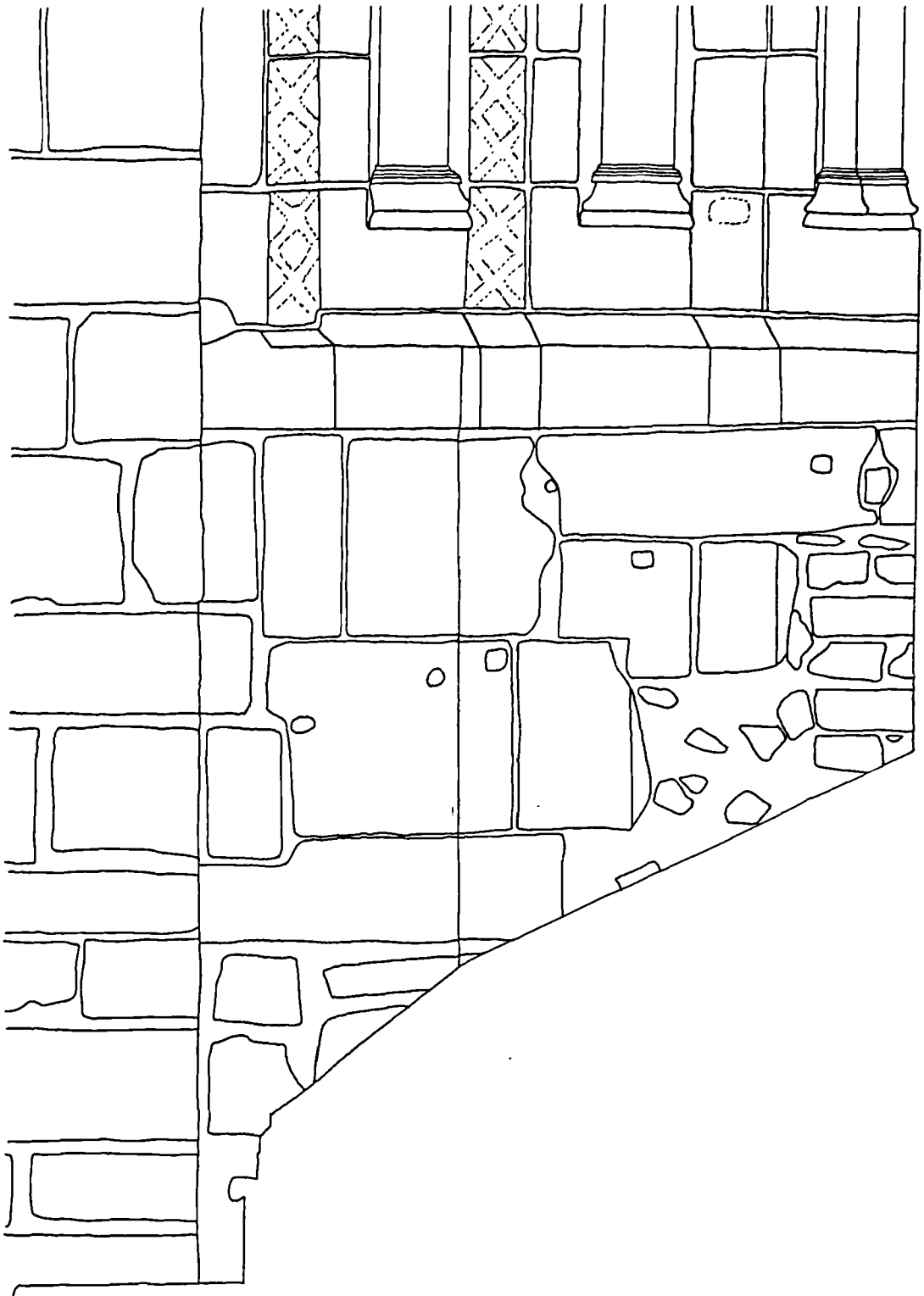
WEST



DURHAM CASTLE

ELEVATION 15 DUDASC (REST)

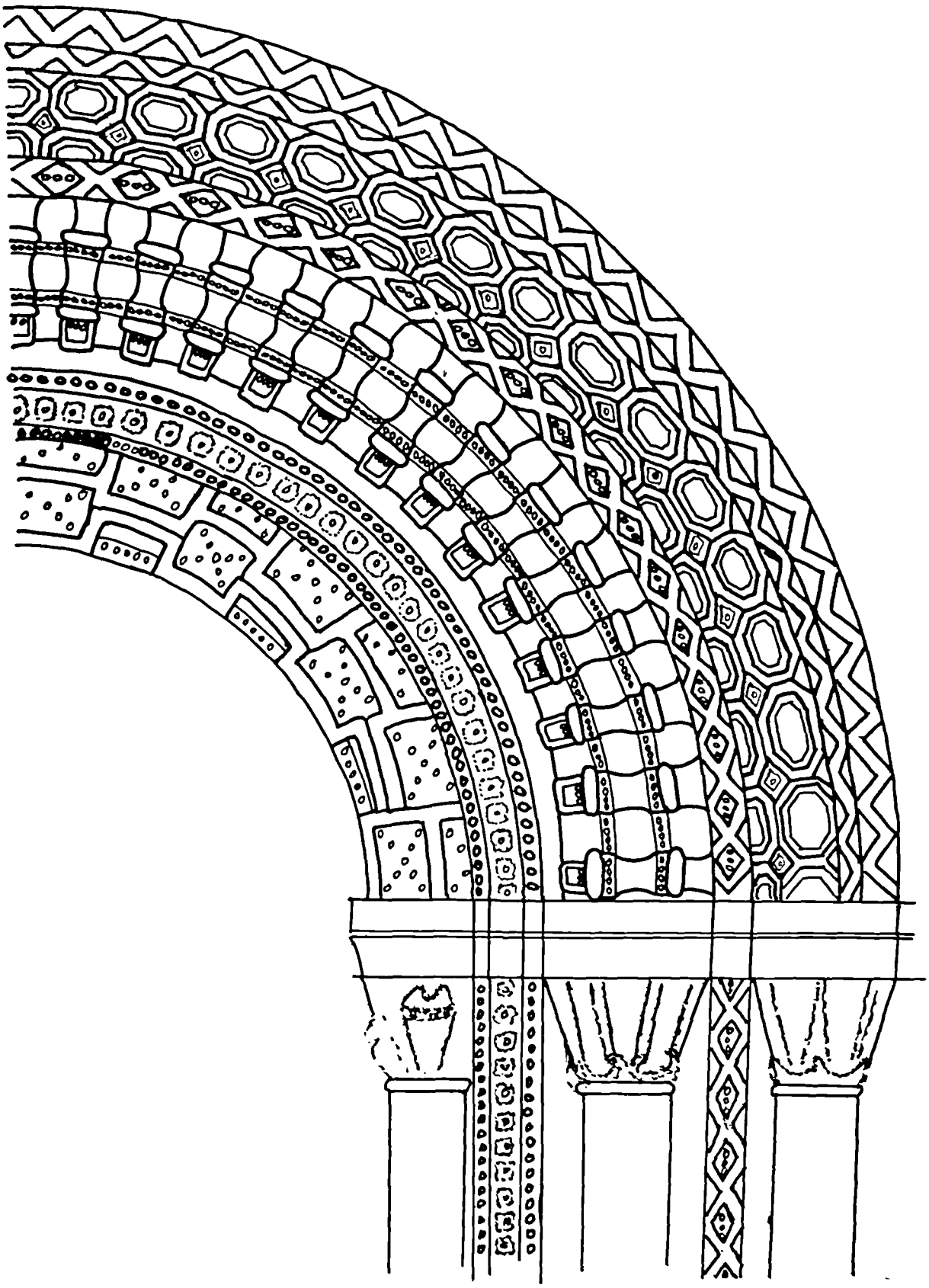
SECTION OF NORTH HALL



SCALE - 1:20

DURHAM CASTLE

ELEVATION 16
BASE OF THE GREAT DOORWAY
TO THE NORTH HALL



(NOT TO SCALE)

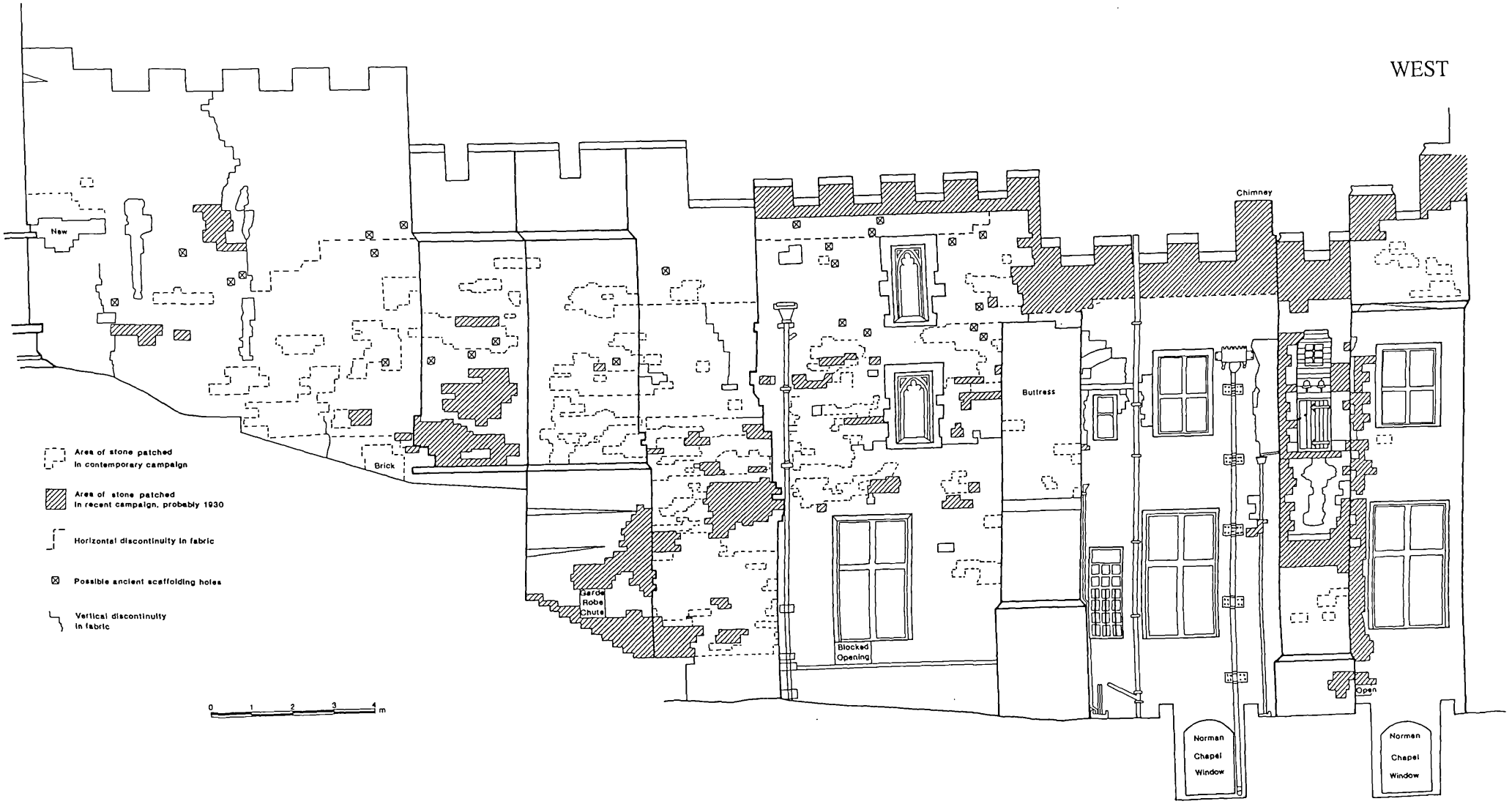
DURHAM CASTLE

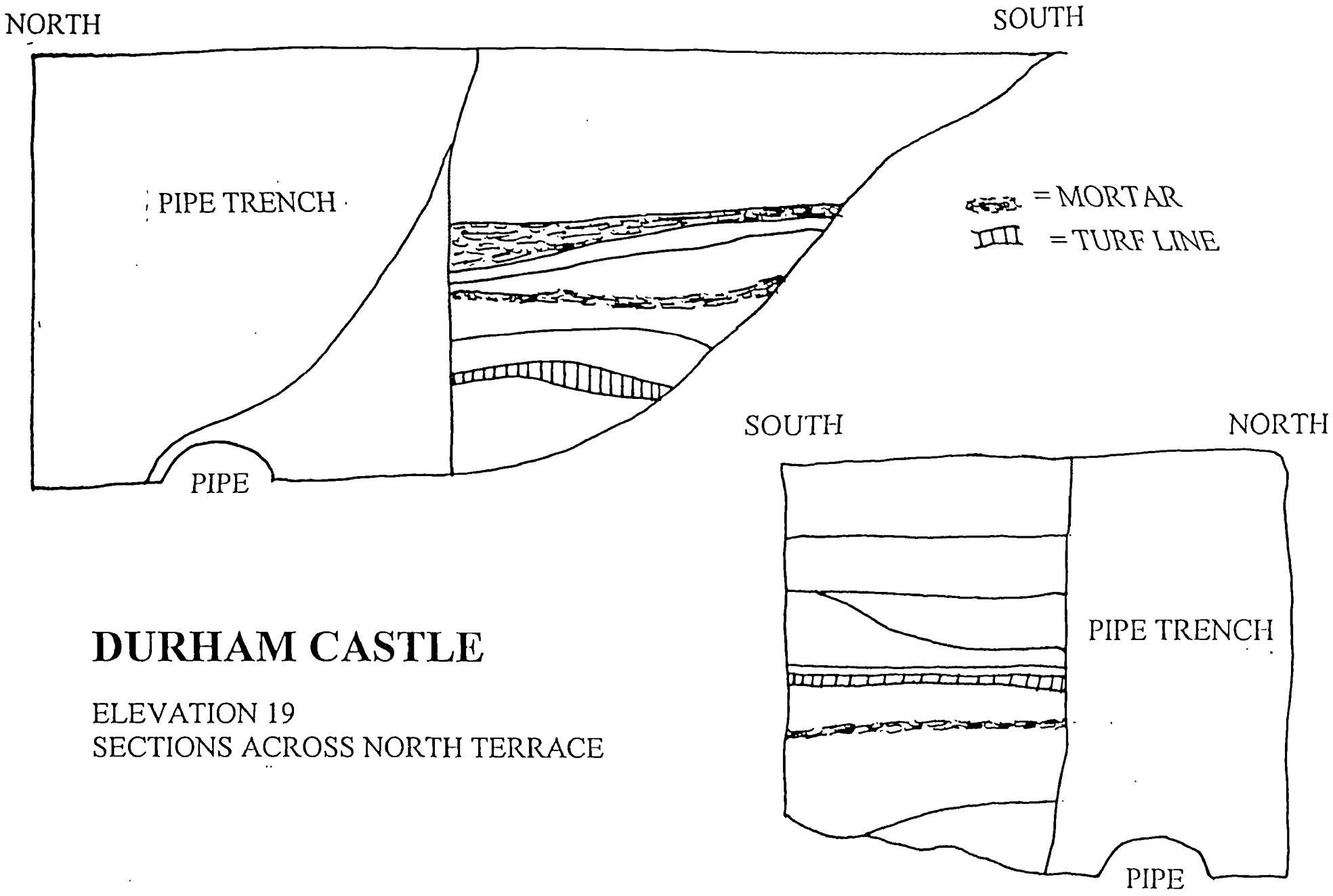
ELEVATION 17
ARCH OF THE GREAT DOORWAY
TO THE NORTH HALL

DURHAM CASTLE

ELEVATION 18

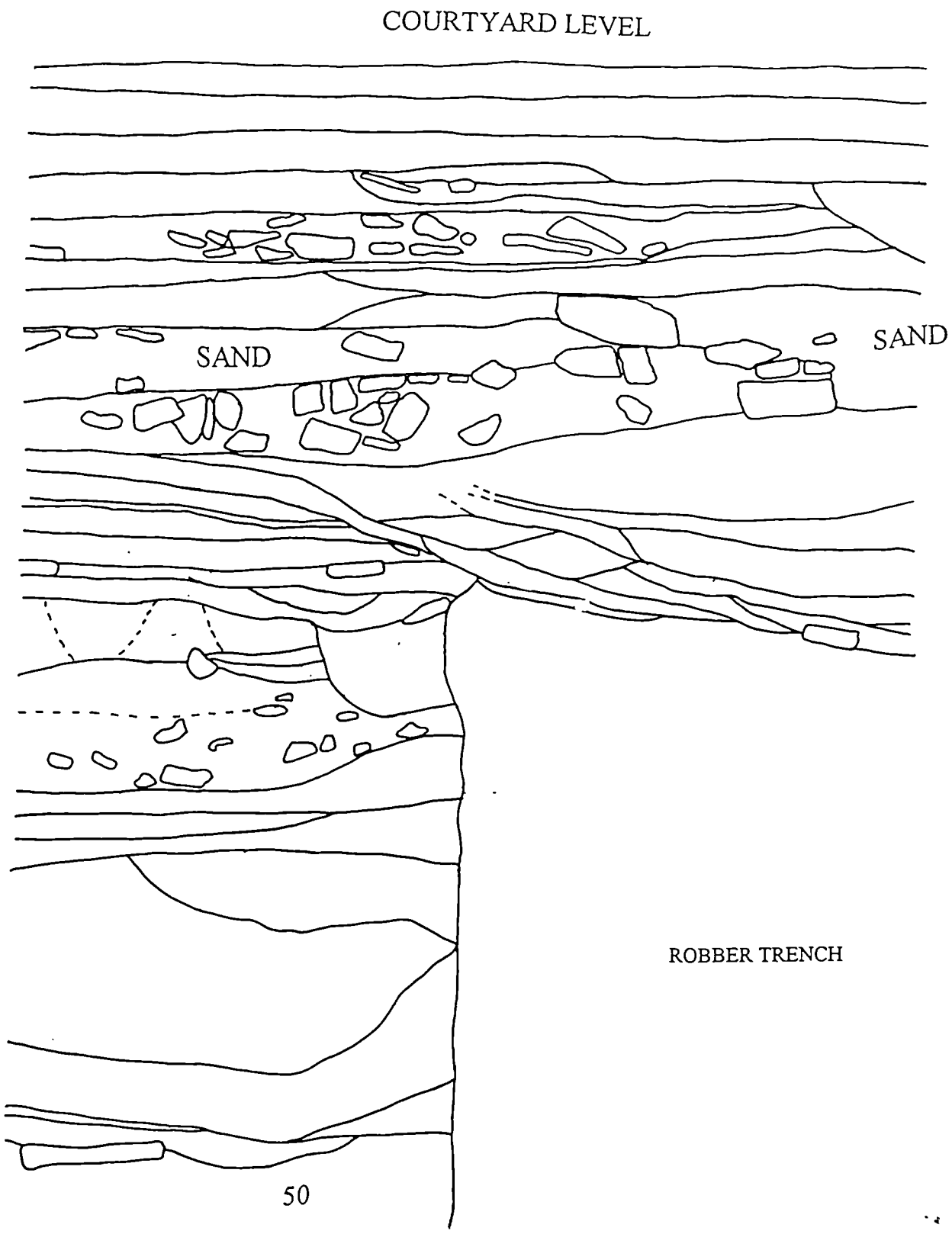
NORTH ELEVATION OF CHAPEL BUILDING
AND JUNCTION





DURHAM CASTLE

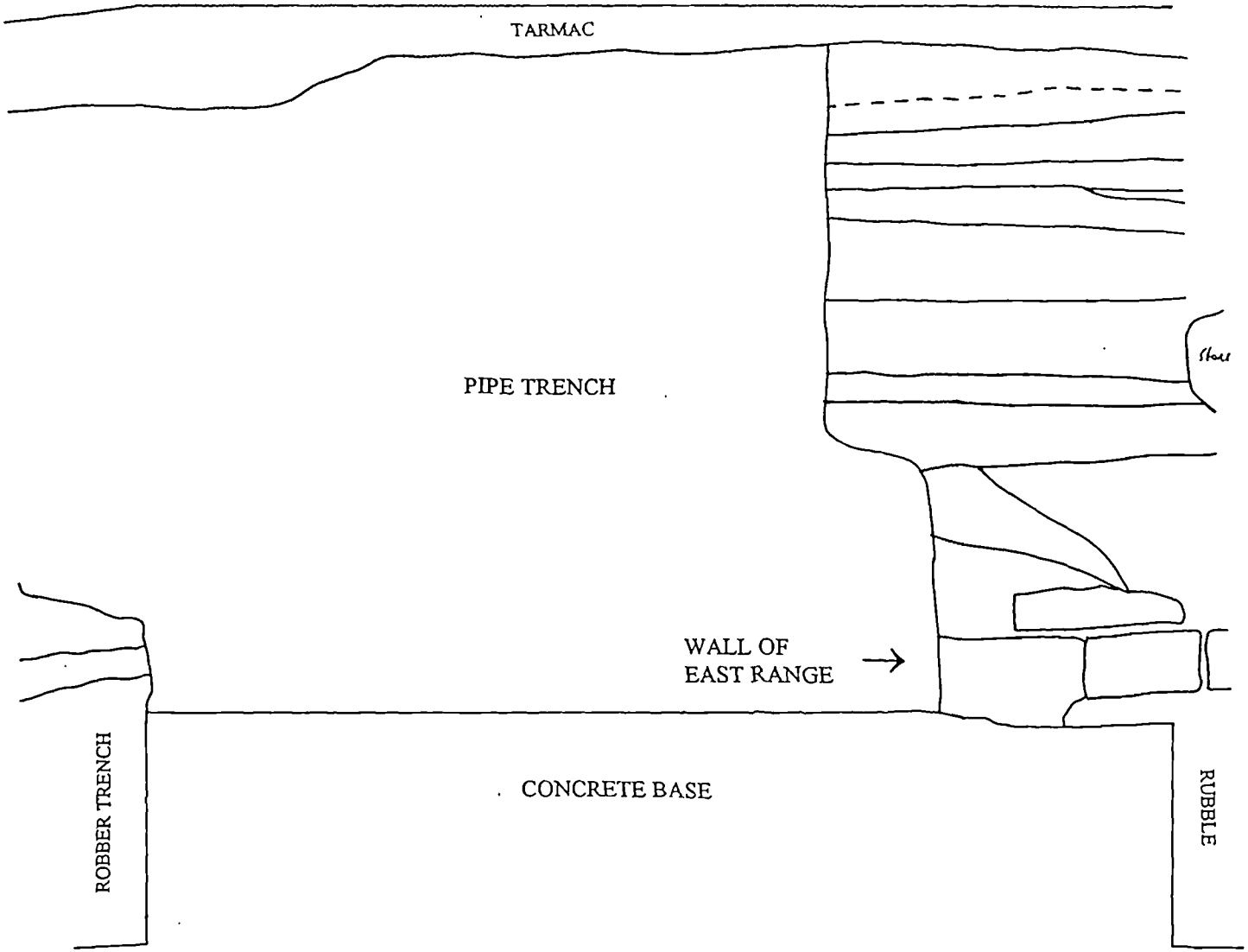
ELEVATION 19
SECTIONS ACROSS NORTH TERRACE



DURHAM CASTLE

ELEVATION 20

NORTH SECTION OF HEATING TRENCH



DURHAM CASTLE

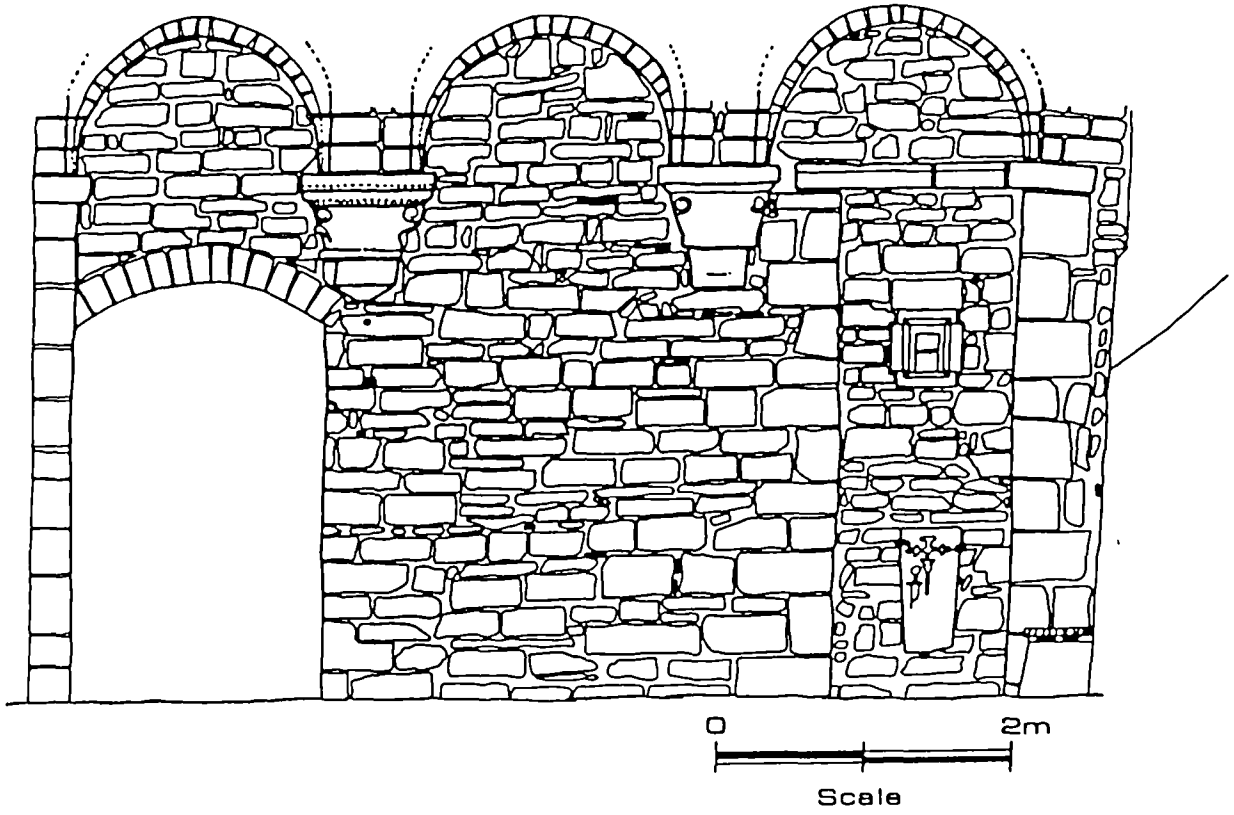
ELEVATION 21

EAST SECTION OF HEATING TRENCH

DURHAM CASTLE

ELEVATION 22

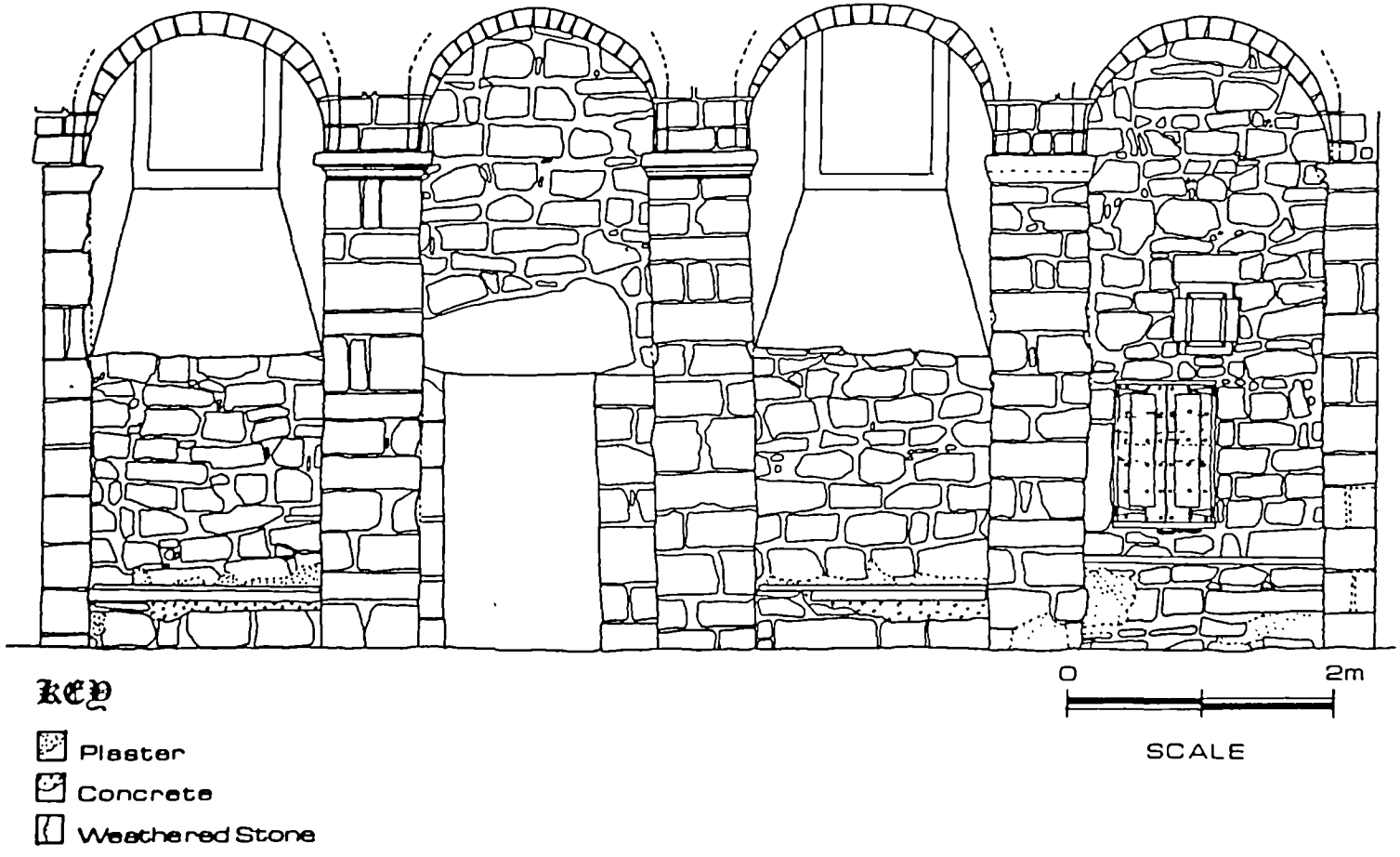
WEST WALL OF
NORMAN CHAPEL

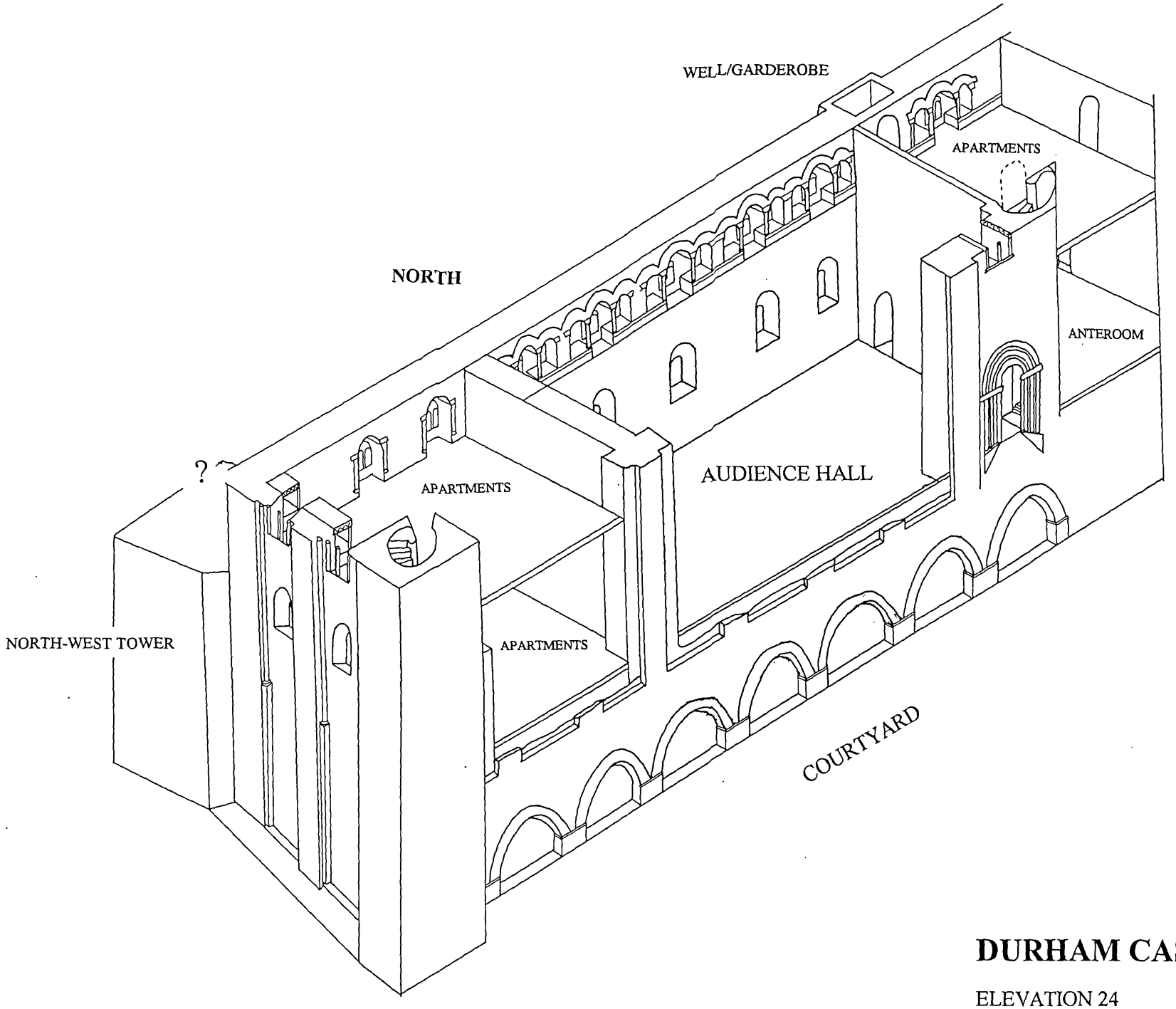


DURHAM CASTLE

ELEVATION 23

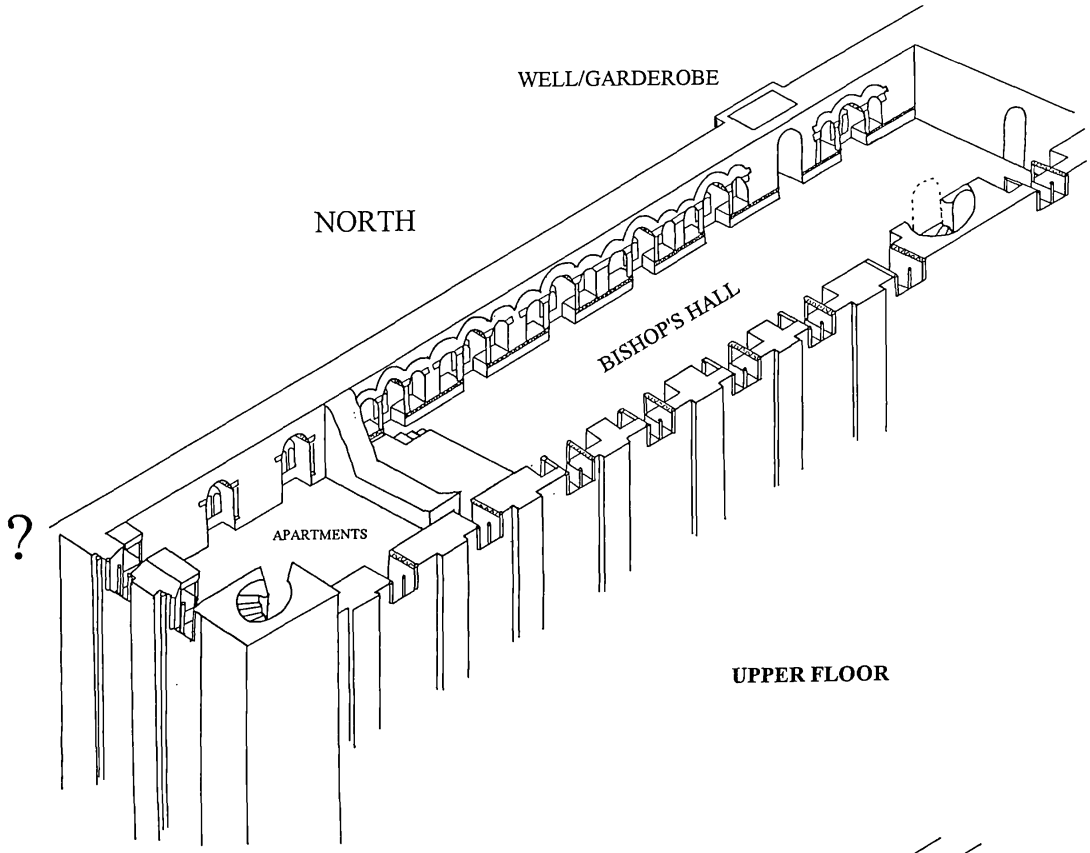
NORTH WALL OF
NORMAN CHAPEL

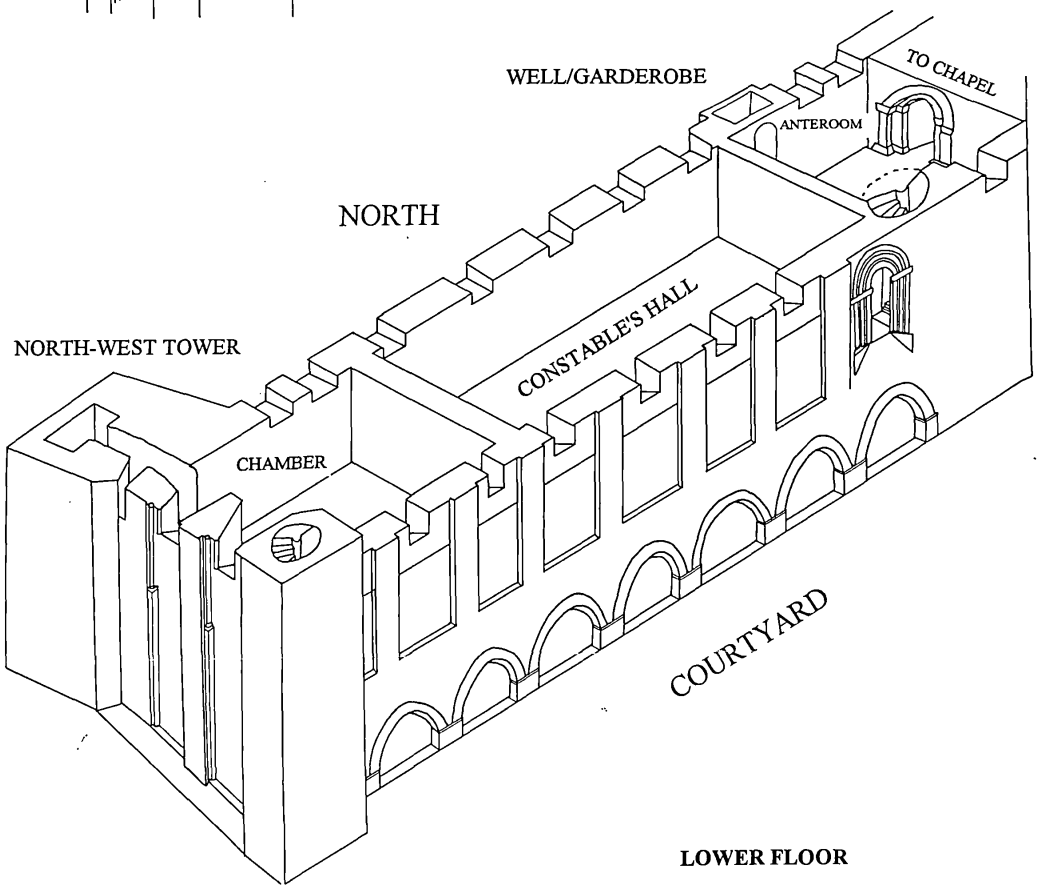




DURHAM CASTLE

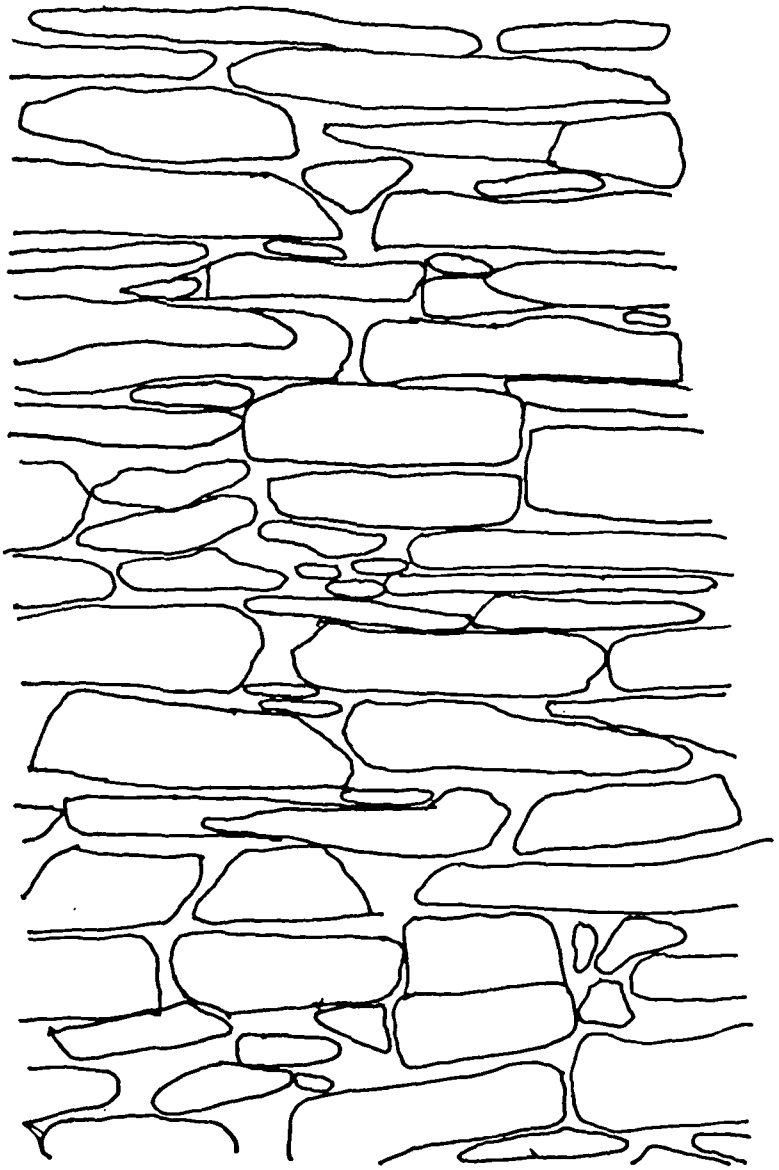
ELEVATION 24
RECONSTRUCTION OF THE NORTH HALL
AS IT MAY HAVE BEEN IN THE LATE
TWELFTH CENTURY





DURHAM CASTLE

ELEVATION 25
ALTERNATIVE RECONSTRUCTION OF
THE NORTH HALL IN THE LATE
TWELFTH CENTURY



DURHAM CASTLE

ELEVATION 26
SKETCH OF FABRIC IN
OUBLIETTE SHAFT, LOW TOWER

(Not to Scale)

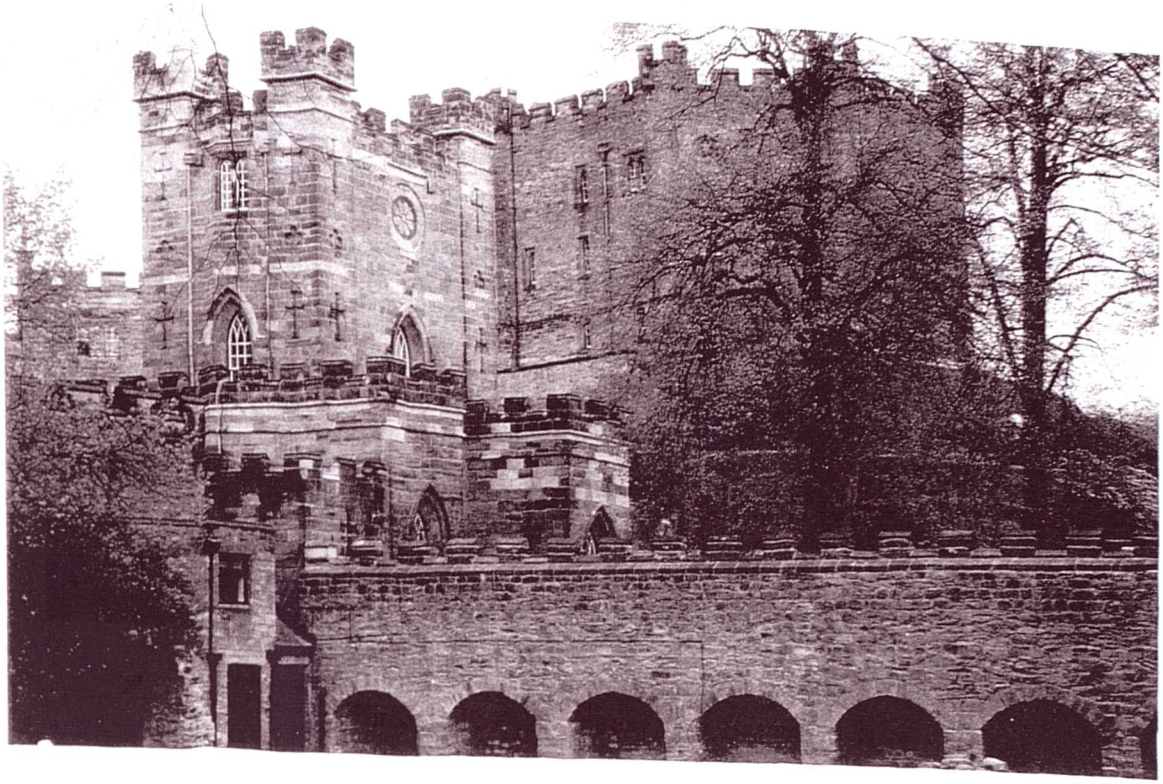


Plate 1. The Gatehouse and Barbican area,
looking North-east from the Fellow's Garden

Plate 2. The Barbican area looking north to the Gatehouse

Plate 3. The filled in moat area below the Keep mound

Plate 4. Section across the Moat in the
Fellows' Garden Excavations, 1991

Plate 5. Fragment of twelfth century Barbican wall in trench;
the present wall is to the right

Plate 6. The Gate arch of three Romanesque orders.
(The door itself is sixteenth century work)

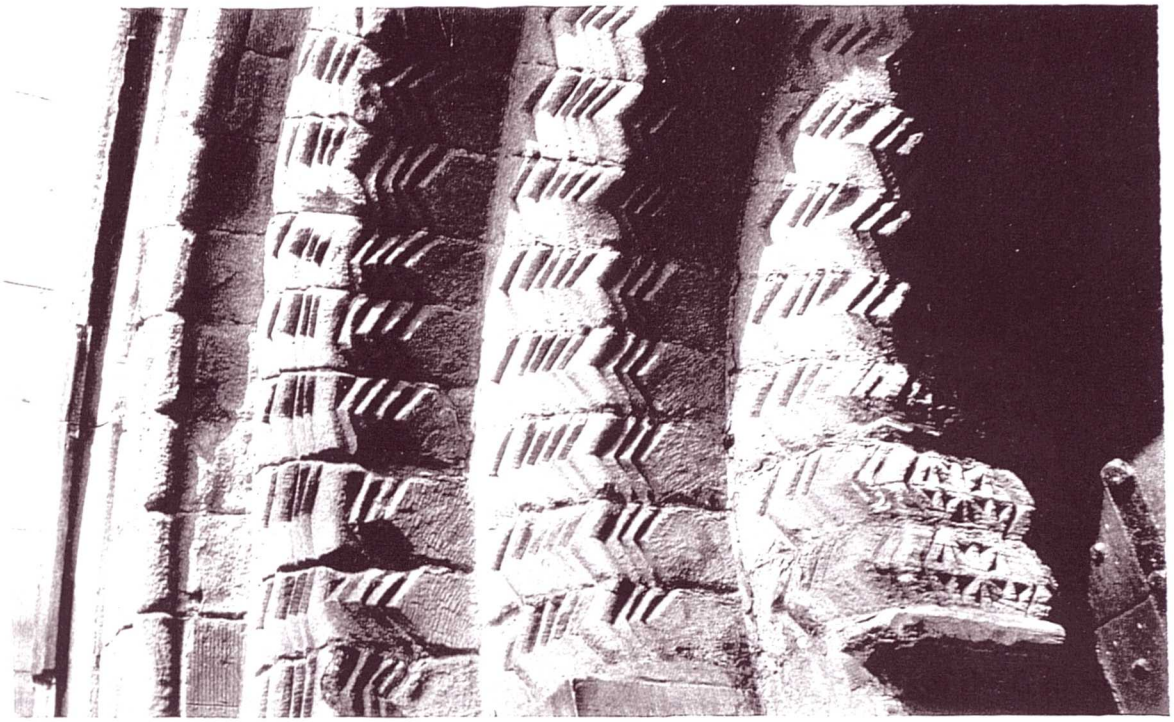


Plate 7. Detail of chevron and star ornament on the orders of the Gate arch

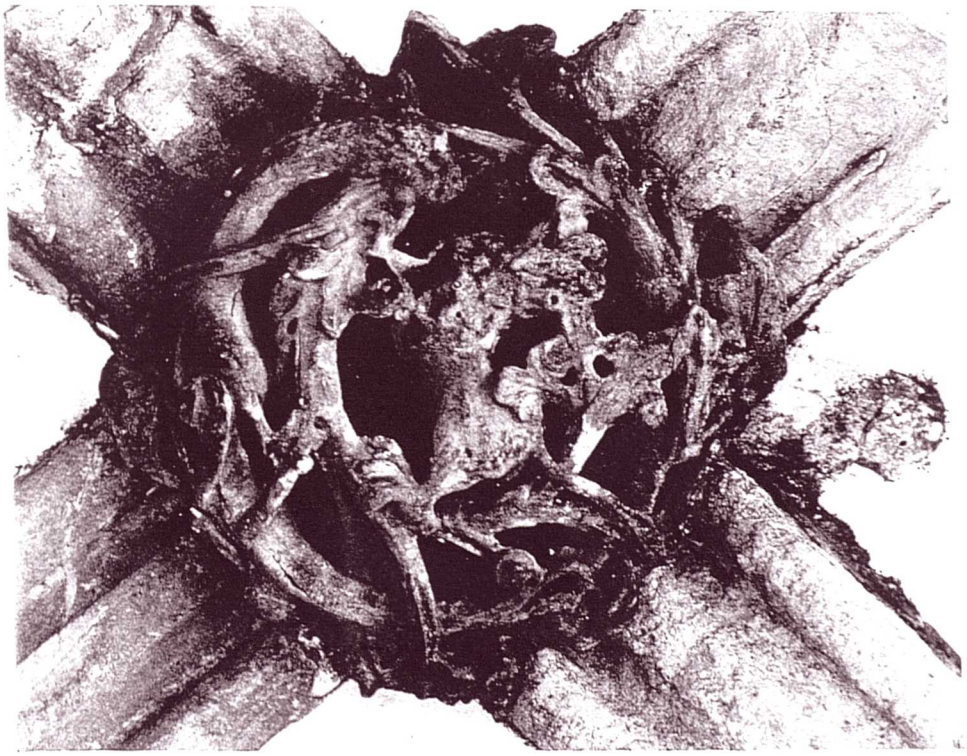


Plate 8. Twelfth century boss at intersection of Gatehouse vaulting

Plate 9. Detail of chevron ornament in Cathedral nave;
the work of Bishop Flambard (1099 - 1128)

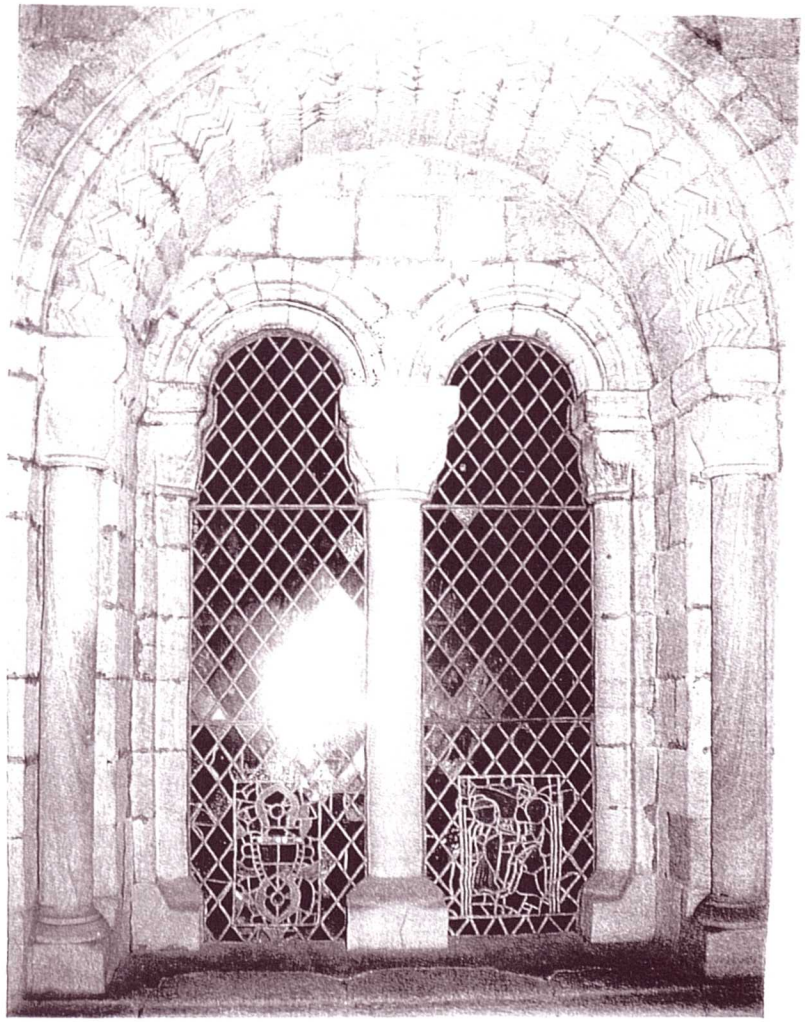


Plate 10. Detail of west facade of Cathedral Chapter House;
the work of Bishop Geoffrey Rufus (1133 -1140)

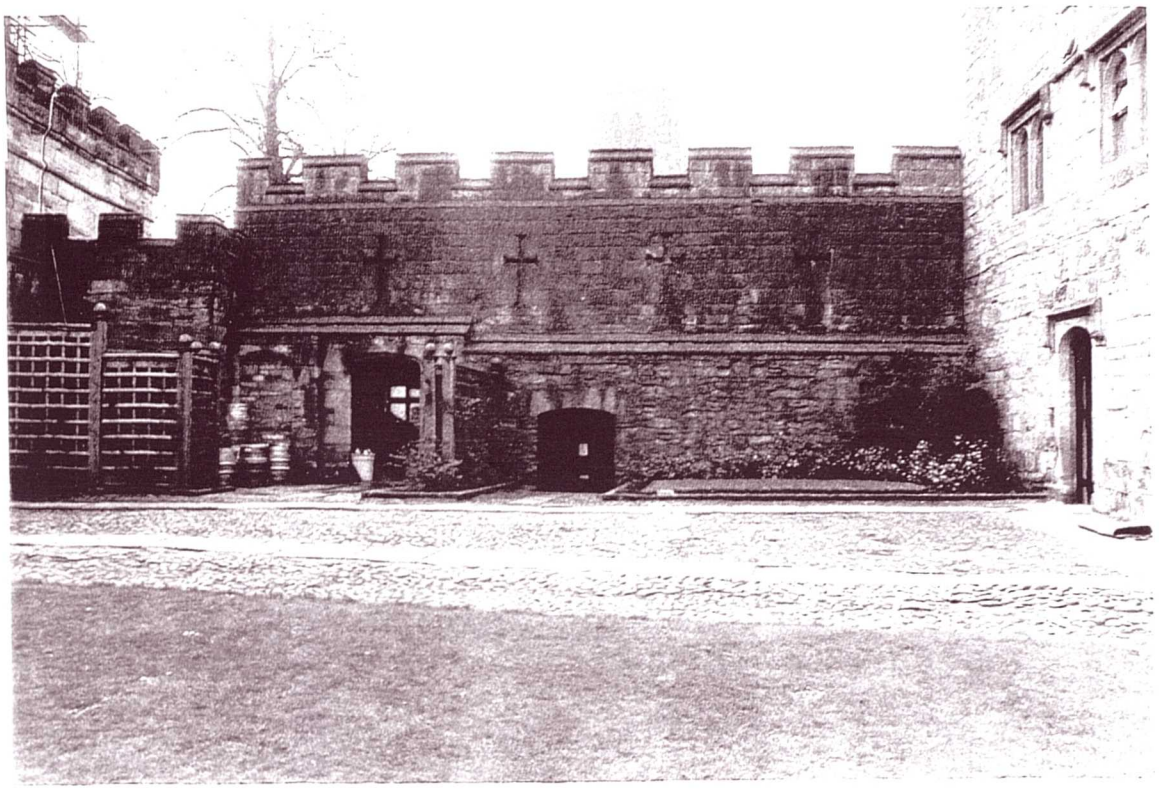


Plate 11. South curtain wall between the Gatehouse and Garden Stairs, looking south

Plate 12. East front of Garden Stairs with Kitchen Courtyard to the right, linking with the south end of the Great Hall

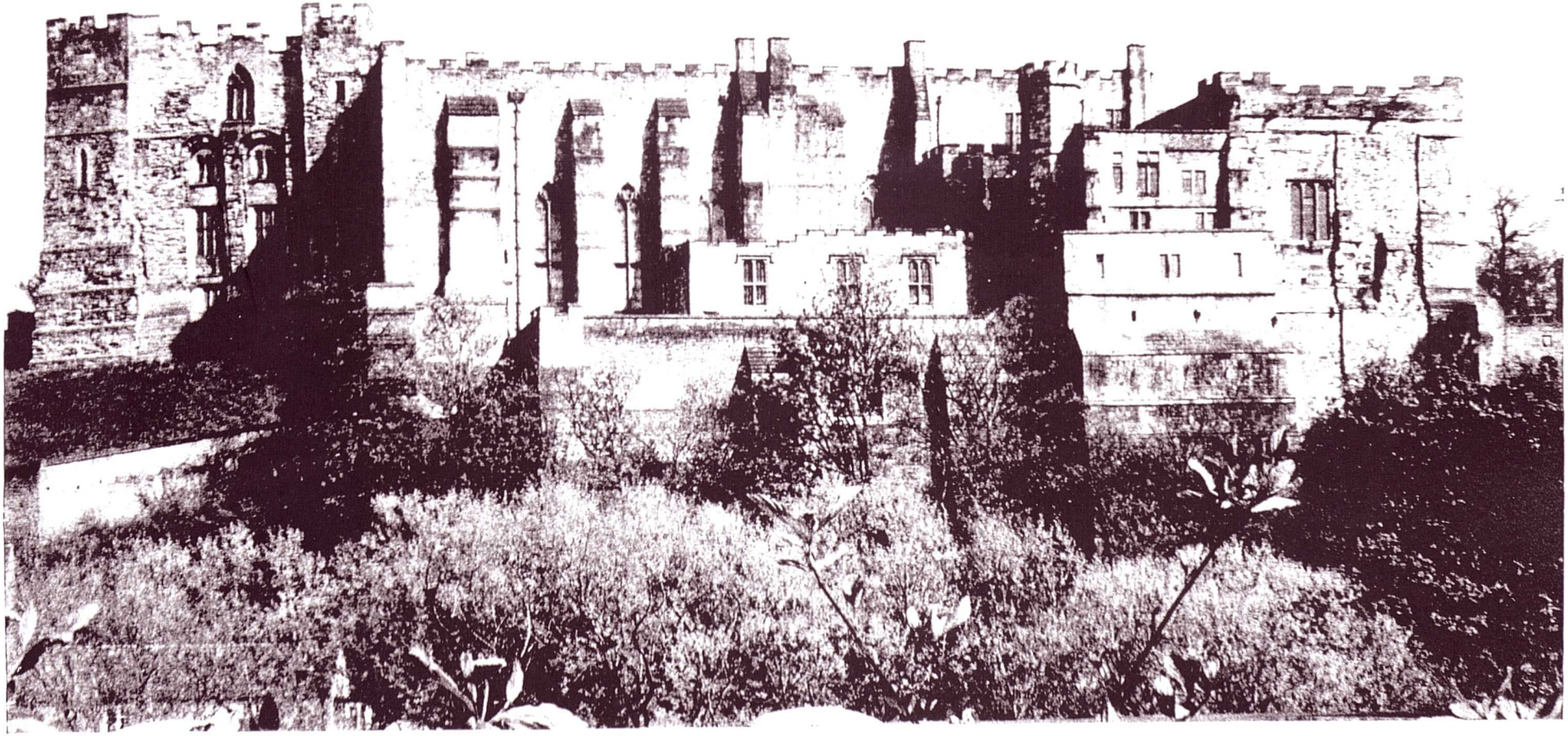


Plate 13. West Range of Castle looking from South Street

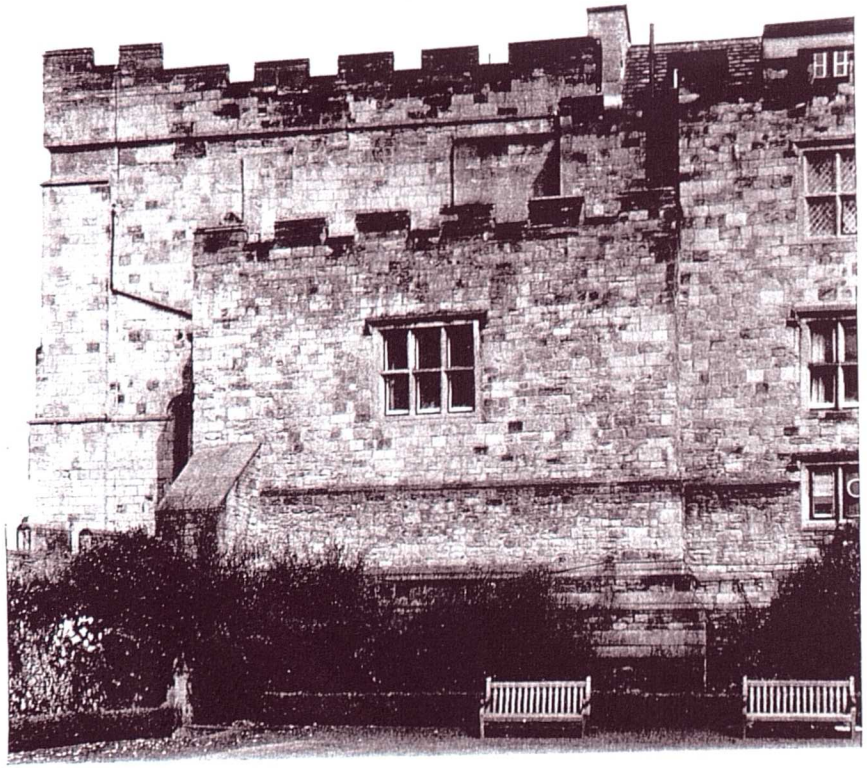


Plate 14. The Low Tower with the Kitchen Tower behind, looking north from the Fellows' Garden

Plate 15. Oubliette shaft within the Low Tower

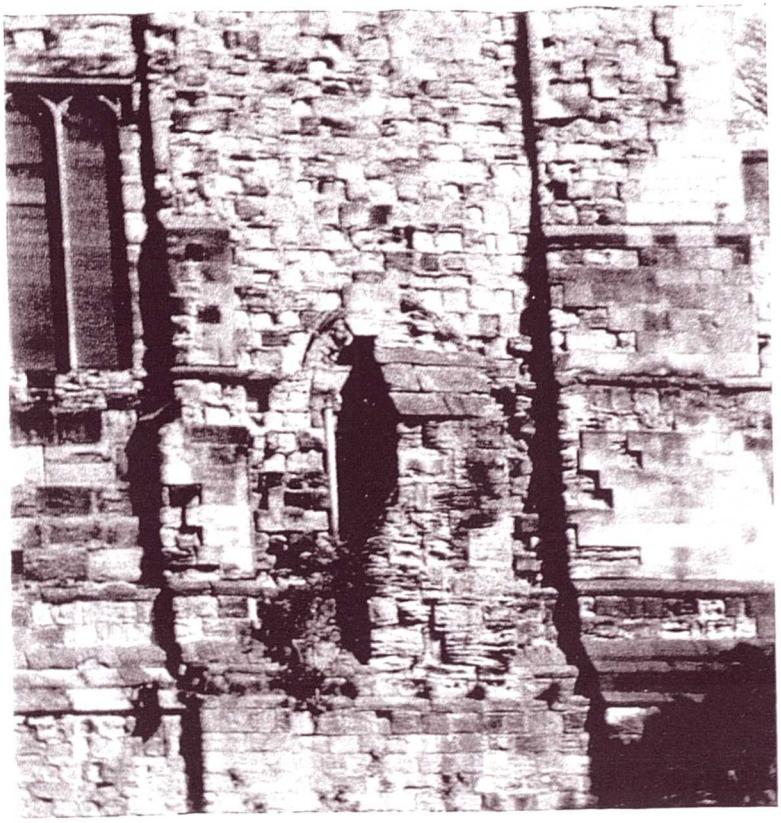


Plate 16. Detail of blocked opening in the west wall of the Kitchen Tower

Plate 17. Internal of the butttery looking south towards the Kitchen

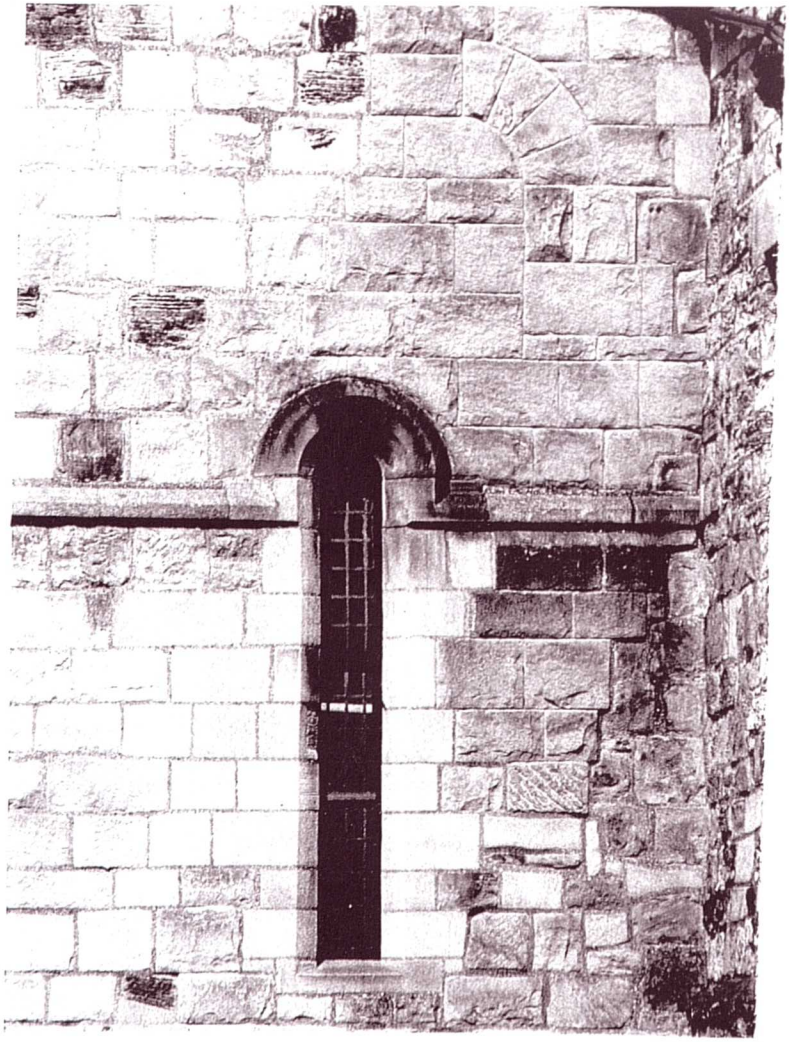


Plate 18. Lancet window on south wall of Kitchen Tower. The partial arch of another opening is seen above and to the right

Plate 19. Internal view of the same window. The lower half of the splay has been whitewashed.

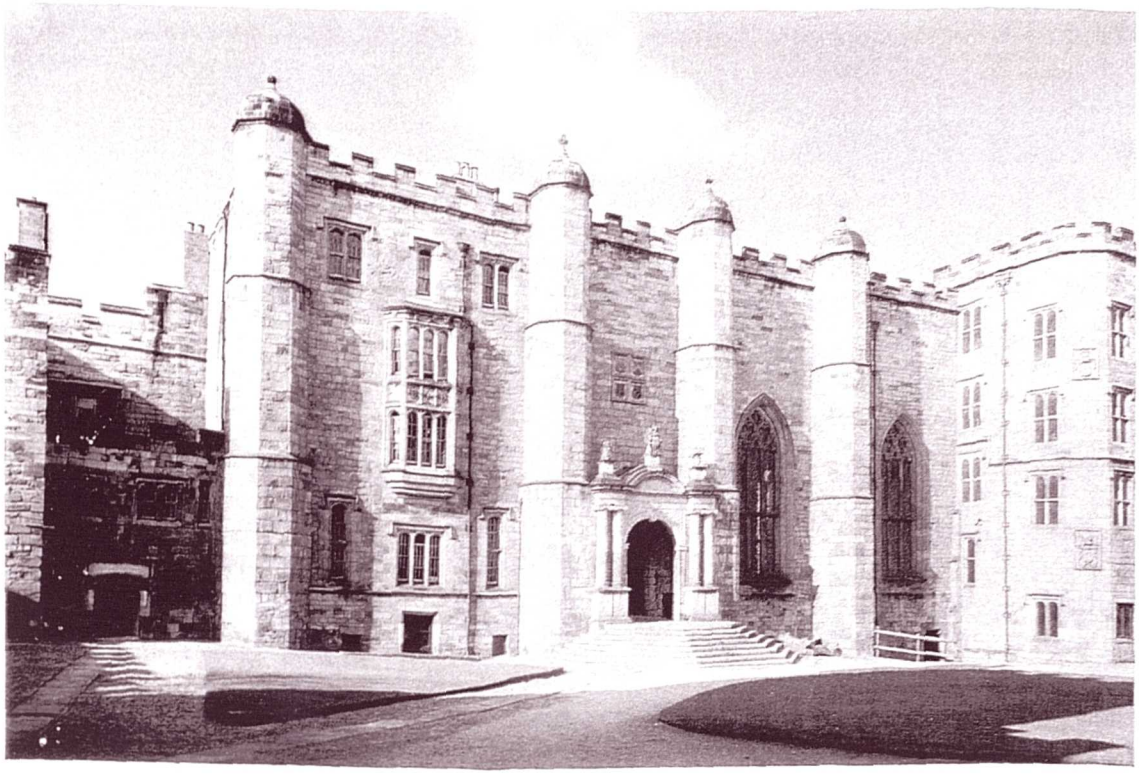


Plate 20. External view of the Great Hall, looking west

Plate 21. Internal view of the Great Hall, looking north-west

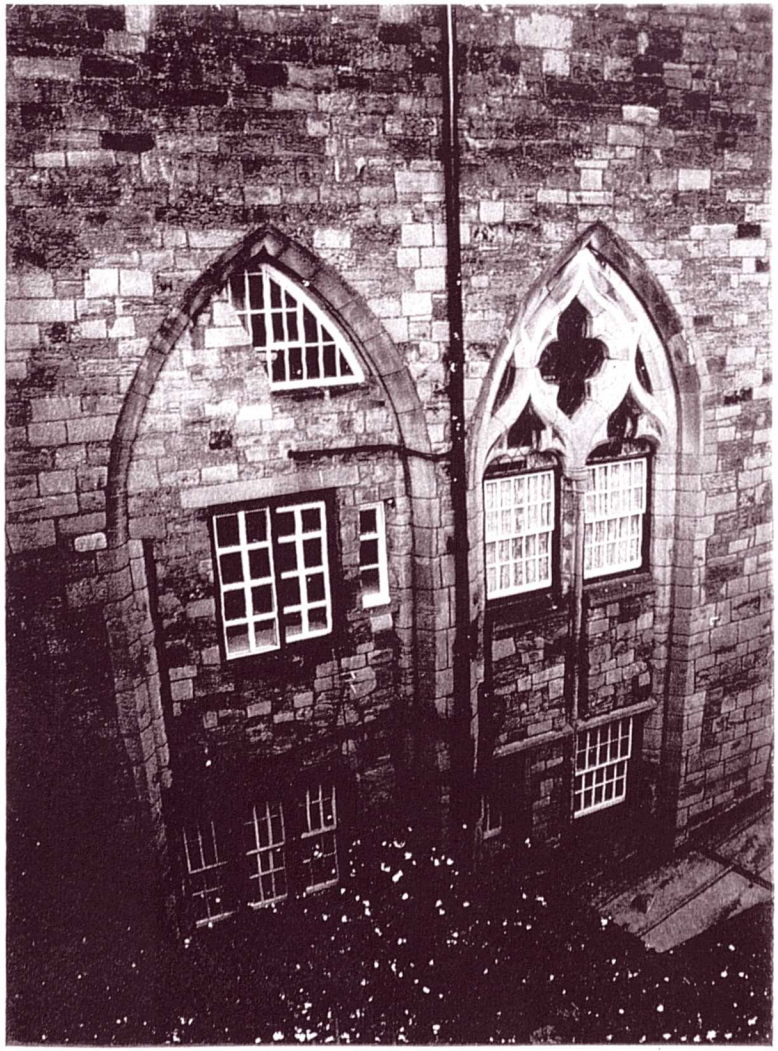


Plate 22. Windows at the south end of the Great Hall, looking north

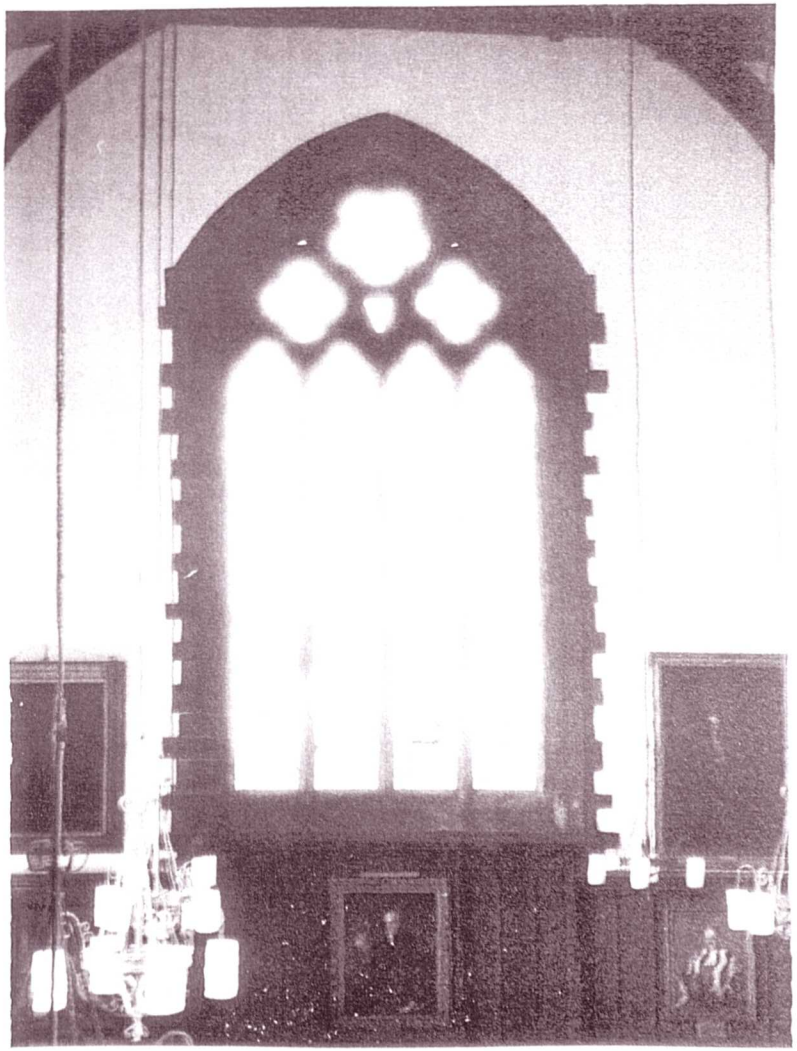


Plate 23. Window at the north end of the Great Hall, looking north

Plate 24. Bishop Cosin's porch to the Great Hall, looking west

Plate 25. Thirteenth century entrance to the Great Hall, looking west

Plate 26. Most intact thirteenth century window on the west wall of the Great Hall

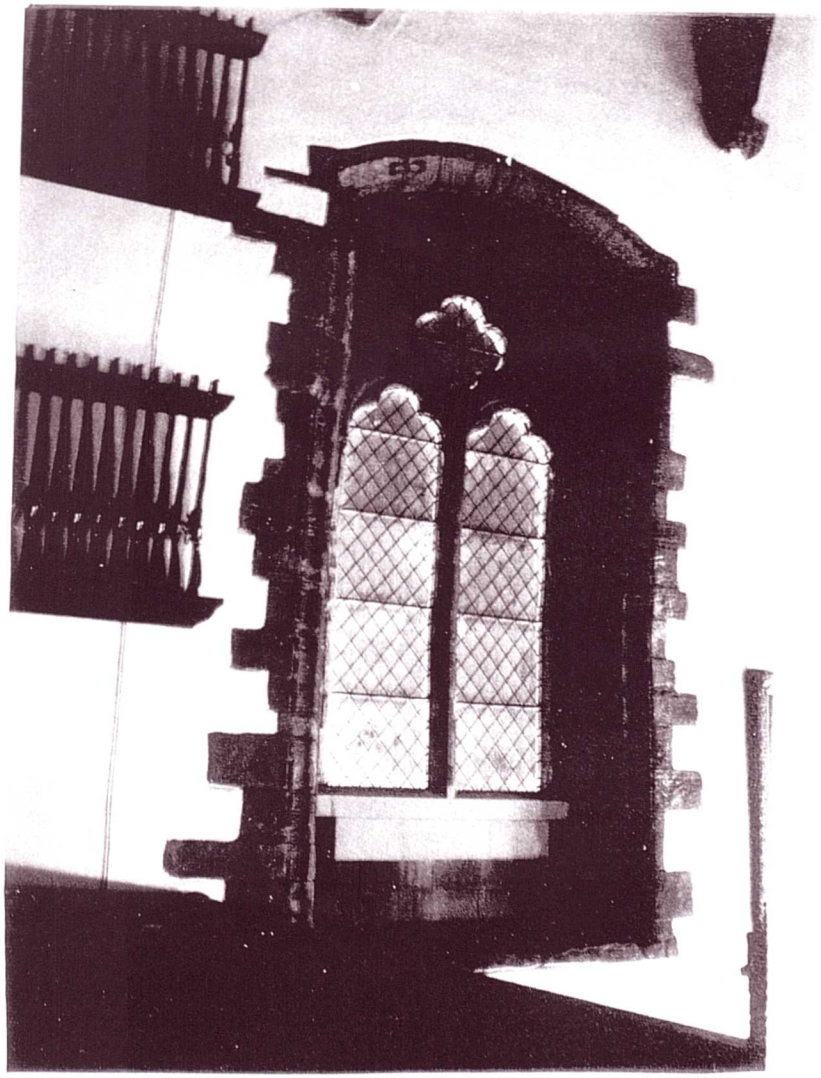


Plate 27. Altered window on the west wall of the Great Hall

Plate 28. West entrance into the Great Hall from the Buttery

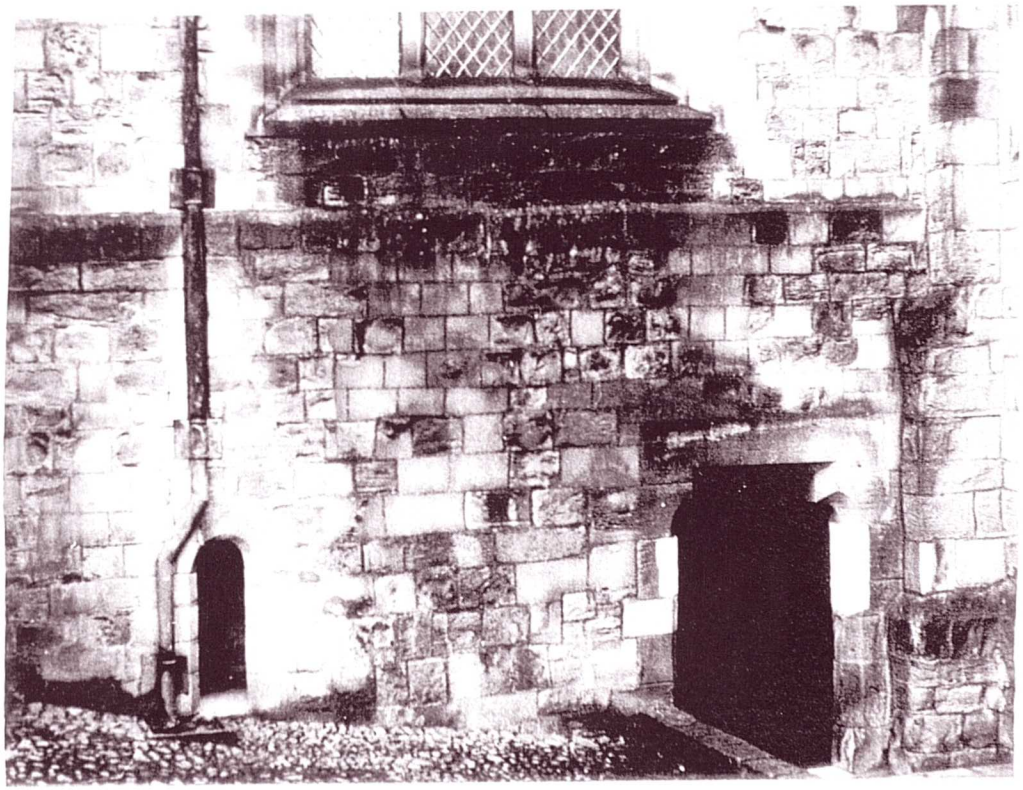


Plate 29. Division between Bishop Bek's thirteenth century rebuild and the original eleventh century construction

Plate 30. Interior of Undercroft looking north-west

Plate 31. West side of West Courtyard Tunnel arch, looking east

Plate 32. West side of the relieving arch on the north-west corner of the Undercroft

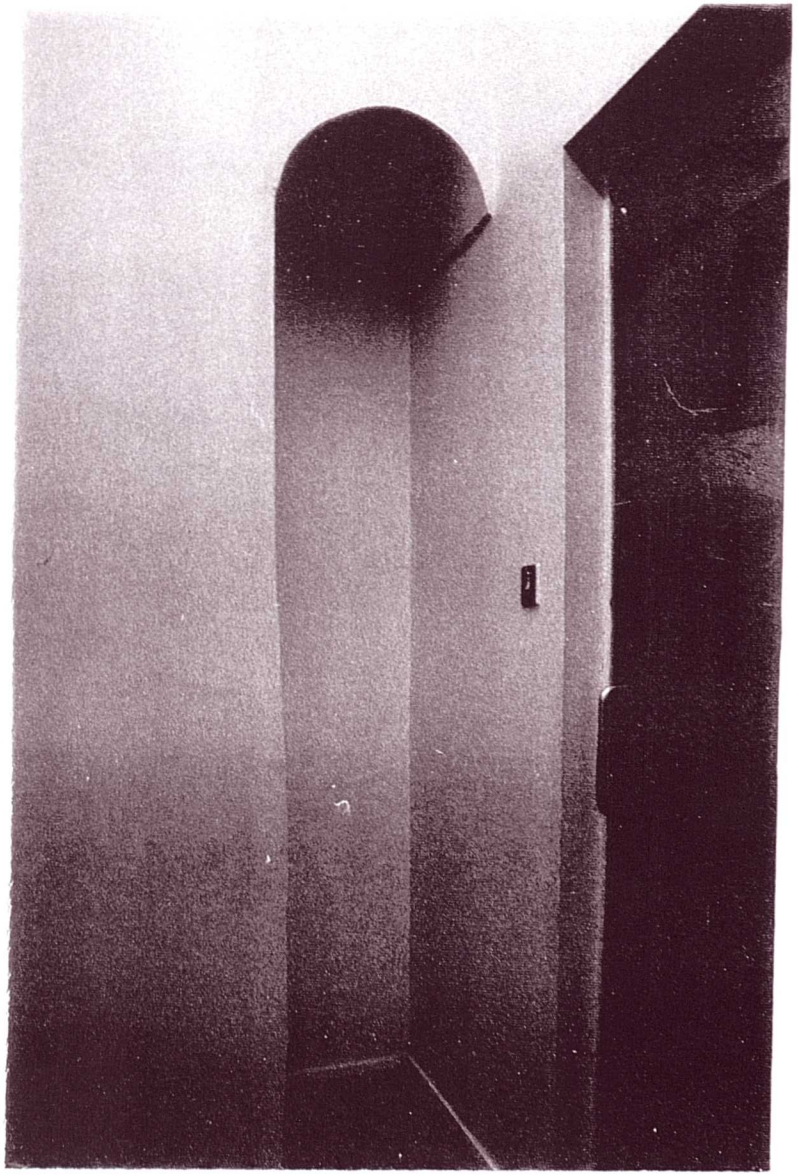


Plate 33. Possible original alcove or cupboard in the Undercroft

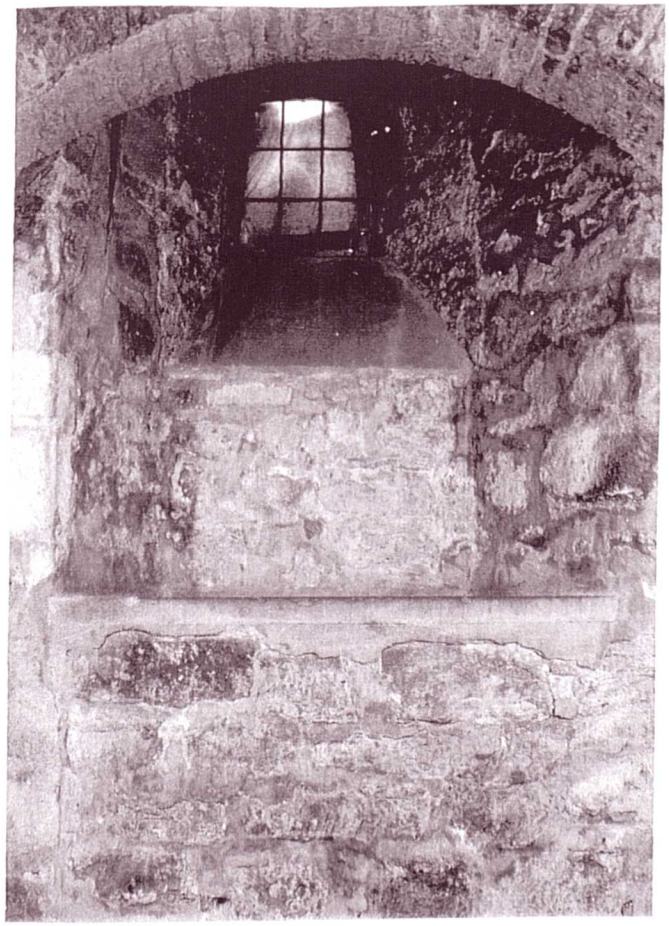


Plate 34. East windows of the Undercroft, looking east

Plate 35. West window of the Undercroft, looking west

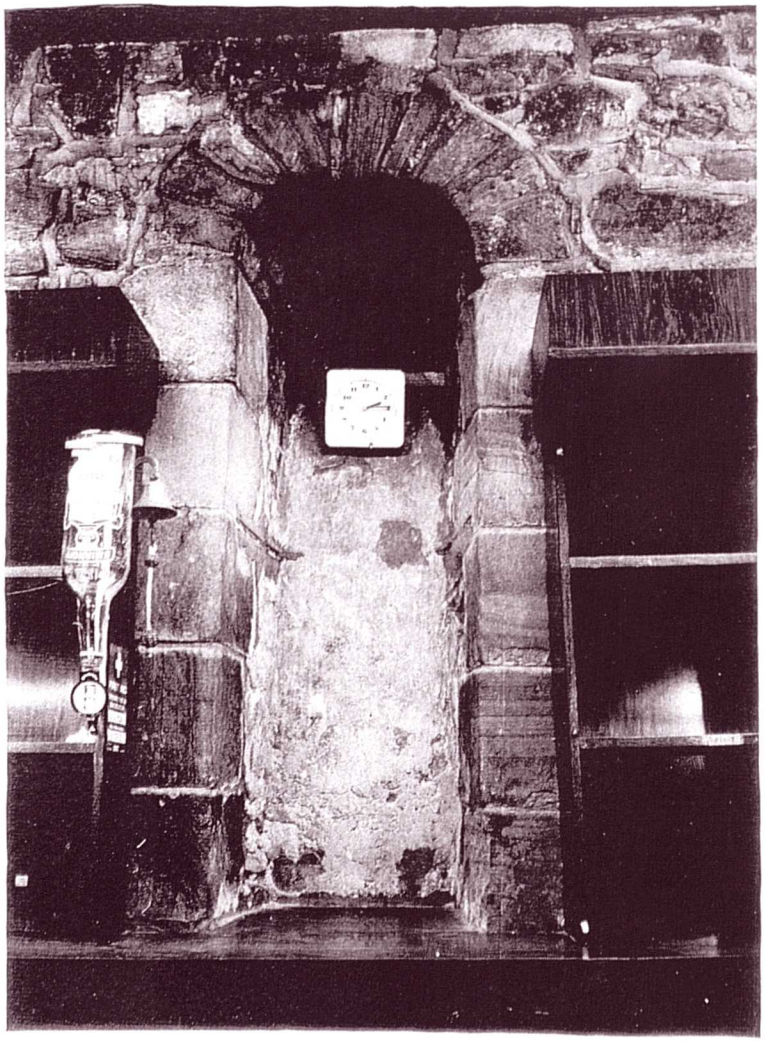


Plate 36. Blocked opening in south wall of the Undercroft

Plate 37. Blocked opening in north wall below West Courtyard looking south

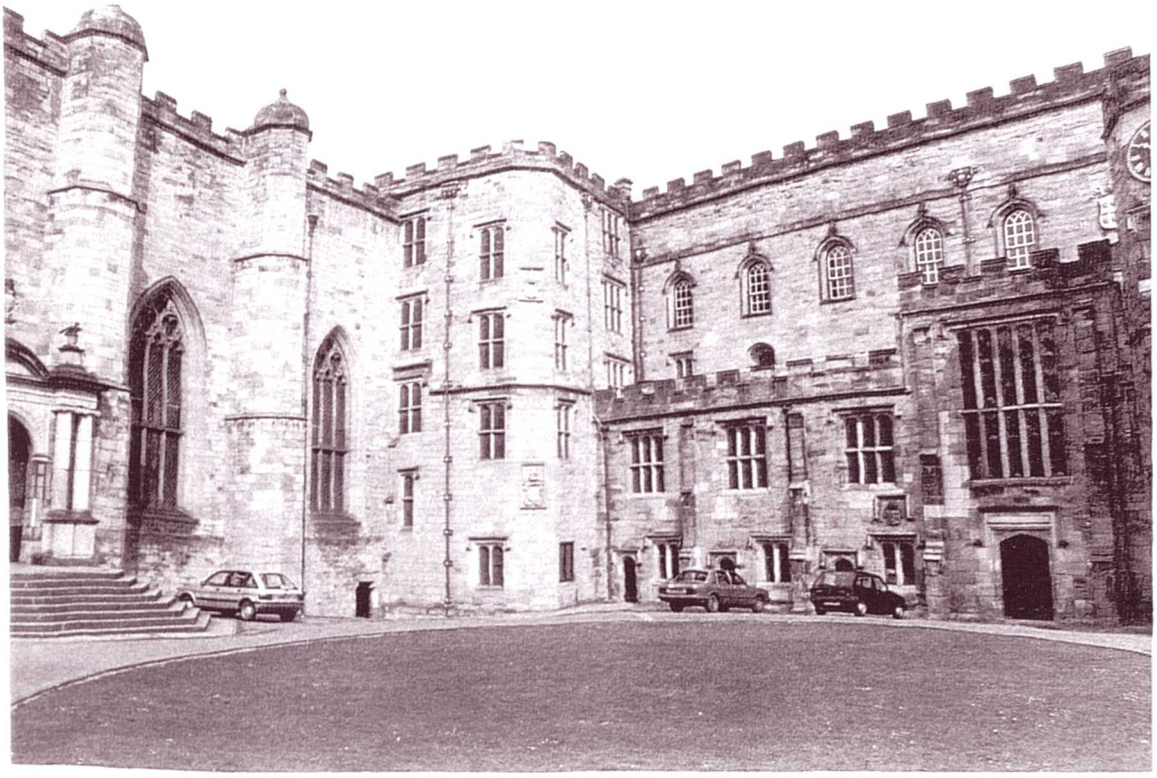


Plate 38. Black Stairs and North Range, looking north-west

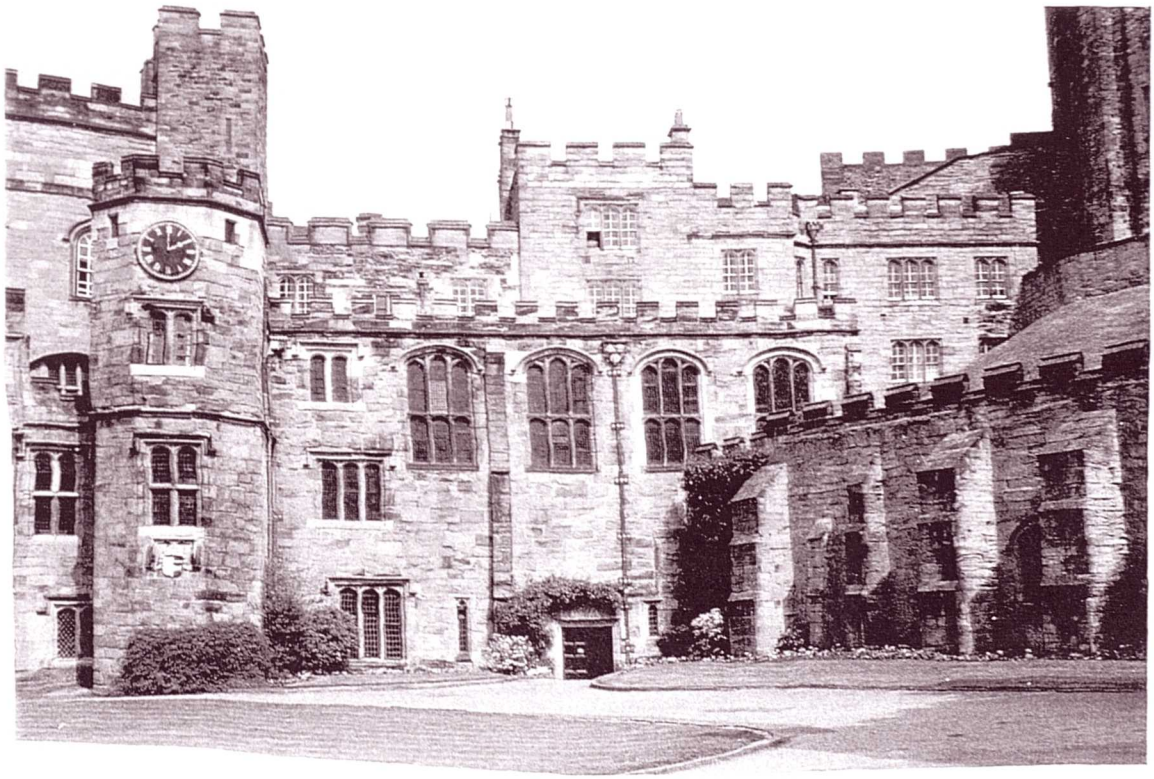


Plate 39. Chapel and Junction Buildings, looking north

Plate 40. Wall face with double chamfered plinth concealed within fabric at the base of the Black Stairs

Plate 41. Horizontal discontinuity in fabric on the east wall of the Great Hall, at the north end, looking west

Plate 42. West end of the North Hall; the exit to the Garderobe Passage (Chapter 1) can be seen below right

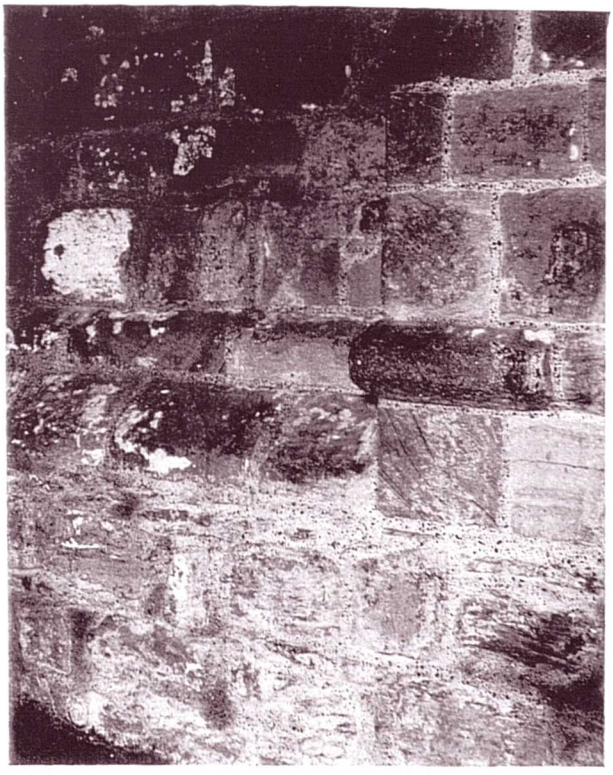


Plate 43. Chamfered offset and buttress with string course at west end of the North Hall, south wall

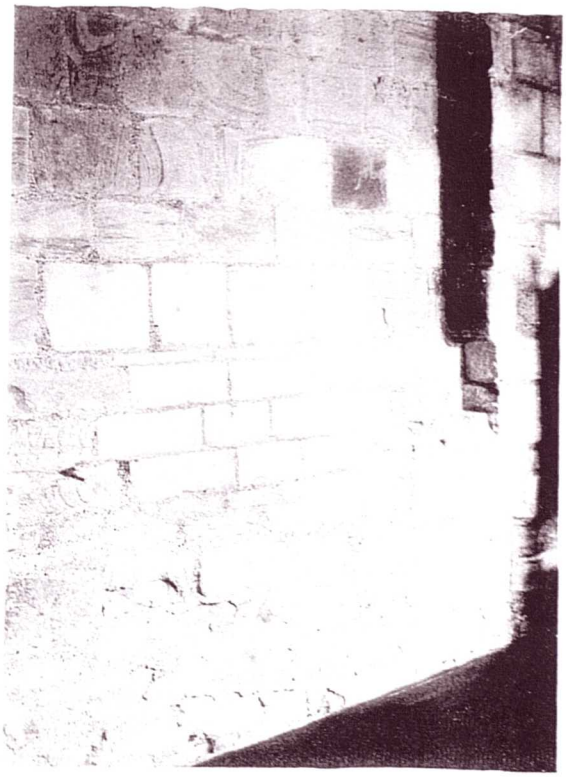


Plate 44. Right-angled offsets and plain buttress on the central part of the North Hall south wall

Plate 45. Part of relieving arcade at the base of the south wall of the North Hall

Plate 46. The North-west Tower looking west

Plate 47. Exit from the south-west newel stair of the North Hall onto the Black Stairs

Plate 48. Detail of the ornament on the opening shown in Plate 47

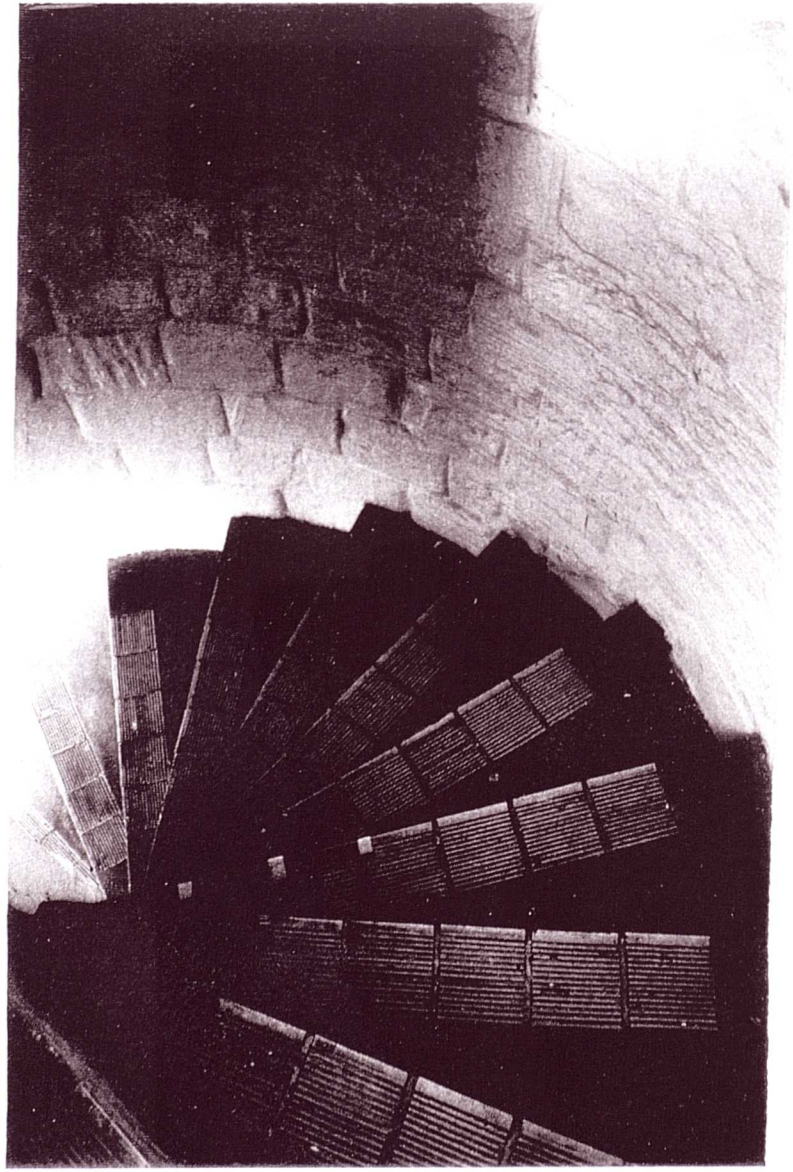


Plate 49. Newel stair on south-east corner of the North Hall

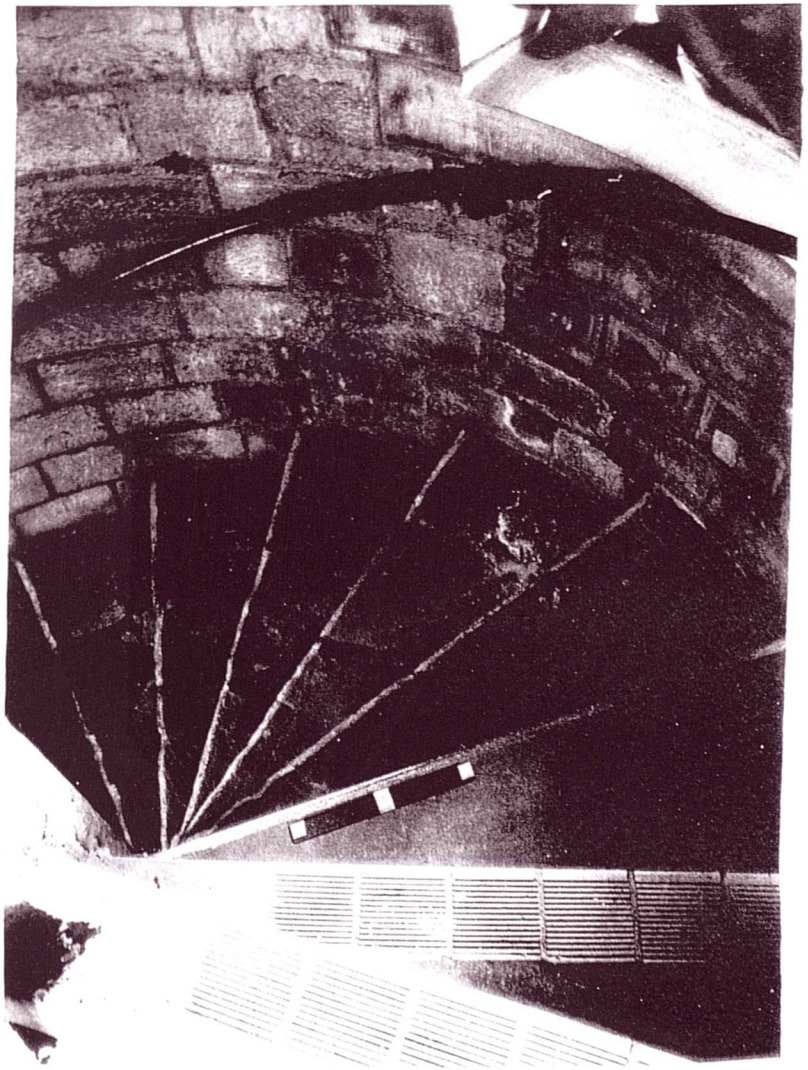


Plate 50. Newel stair on the south side of the North Hall

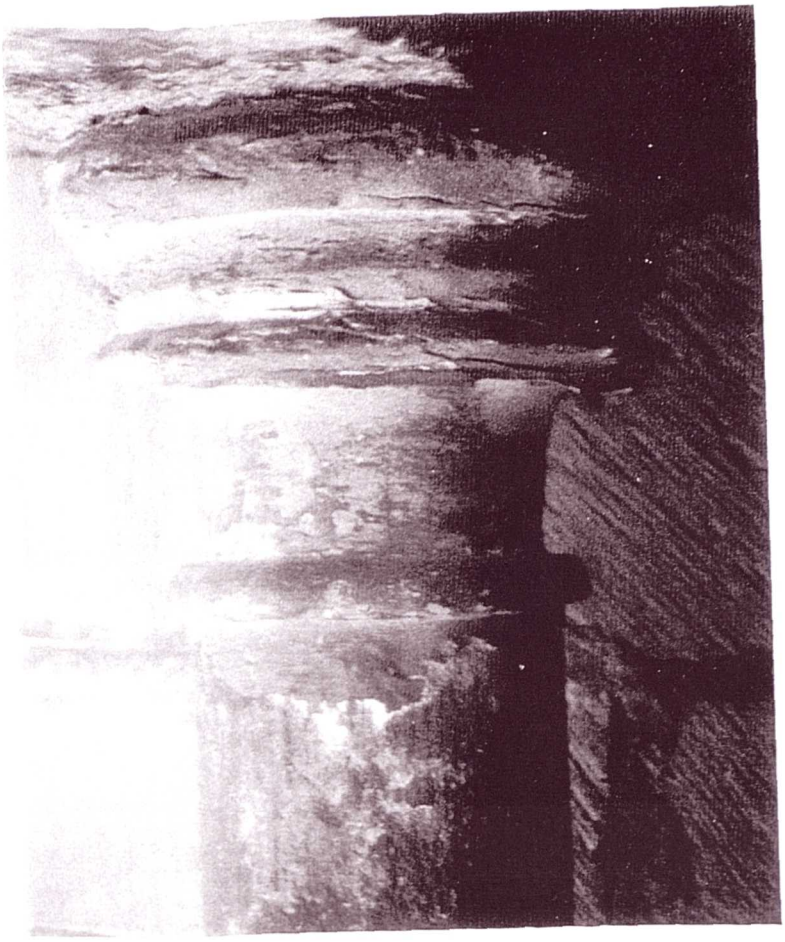


Plate 51. Capital of broken shaft adjacent to the North-west Tower

Plate 52. Roof of passage above Chaplain's Bathroom, looking north.
The window to the left is a deeply splayed lancet

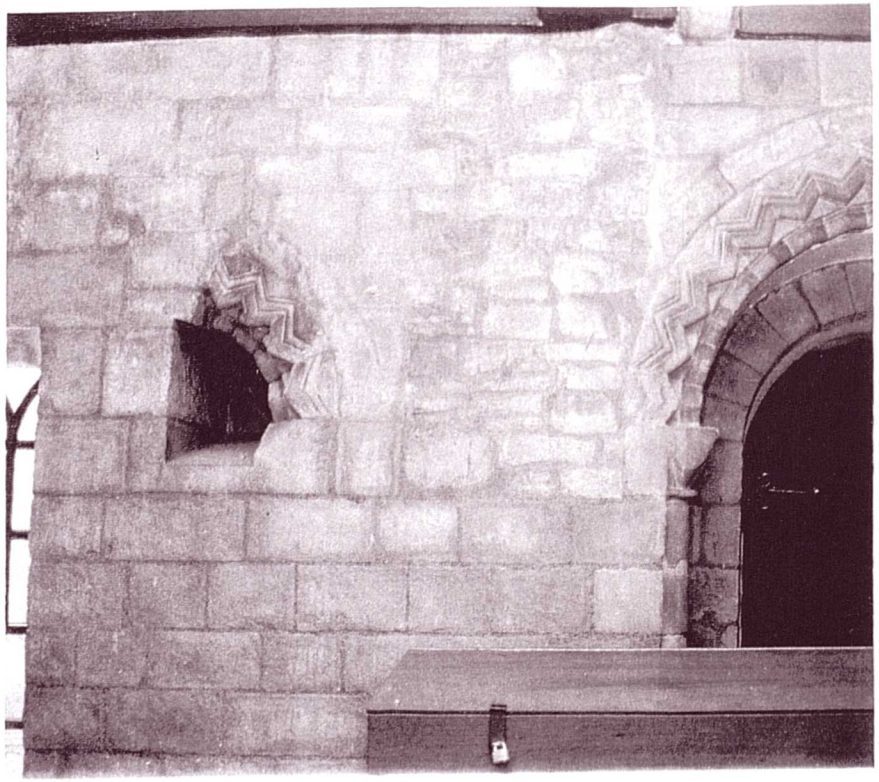


Plate 53. Wall scar on the north face of the south wall of the North Hall at Norman Gallery level

Plate 54. Anomaly in masonry on the south side of the North Hall at Tunstall Gallery level

Plate 55. The twelfth century doorway of the North Hall, looking north

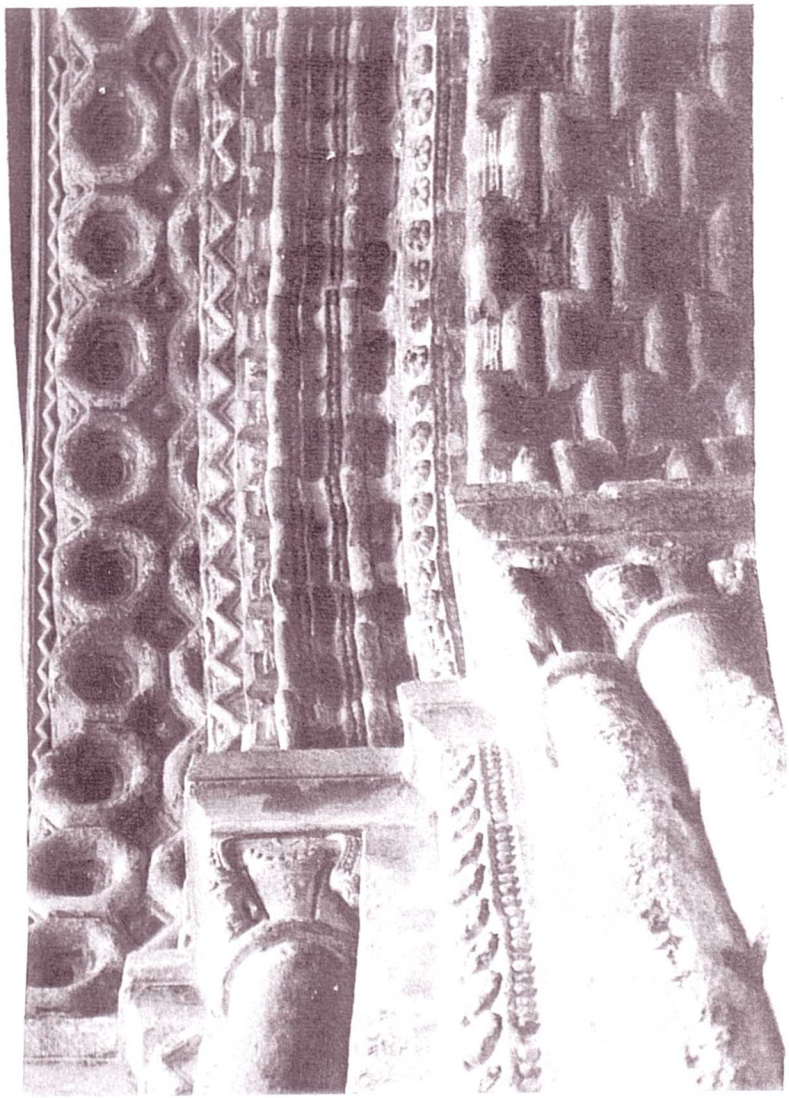


Plate 56. Detail of arch decoration on the same doorway

Plate 57. Detail of capitals on the west side of the doorway of the North Hall

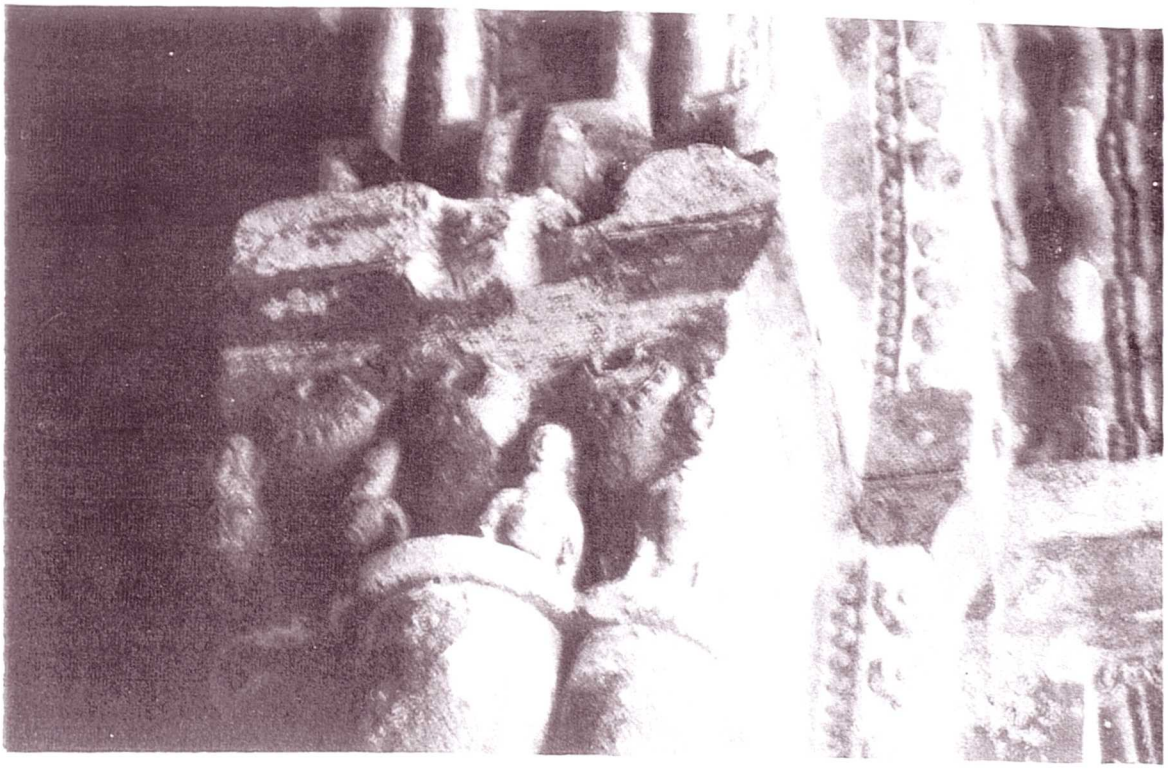


Plate 58. Detail of the capitals on the east side of the doorway of the North Hall

Plate 59. Opening concealed behind stucco in south wall of Senior Common Room. The joint between twelfth and fifteenth century work is seen on the left

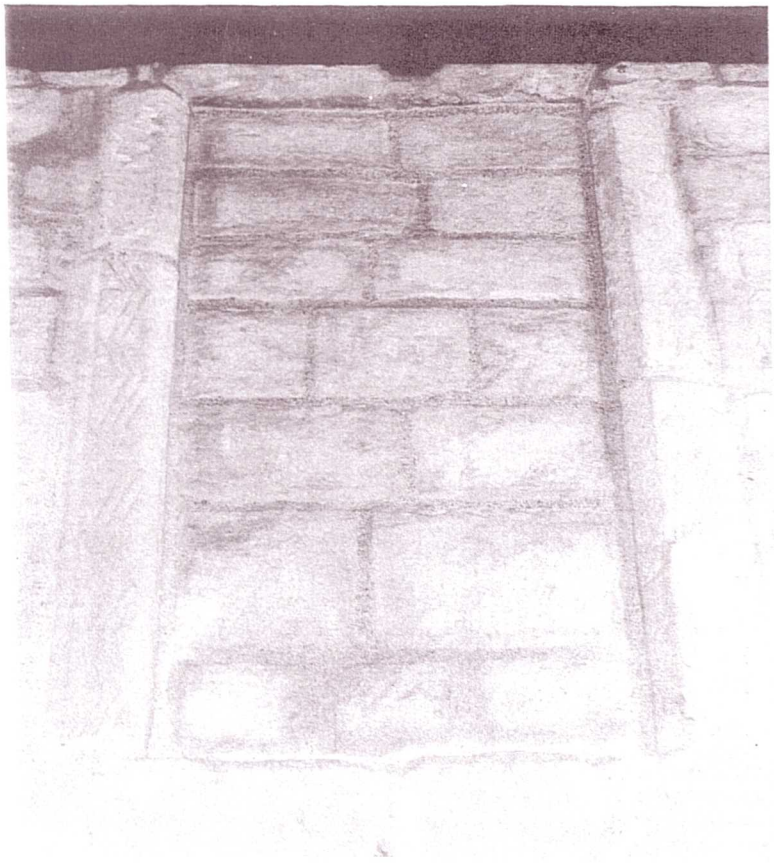


Plate 60. Blocked opening on south wall of North Hall at Tunstall Gallery level.

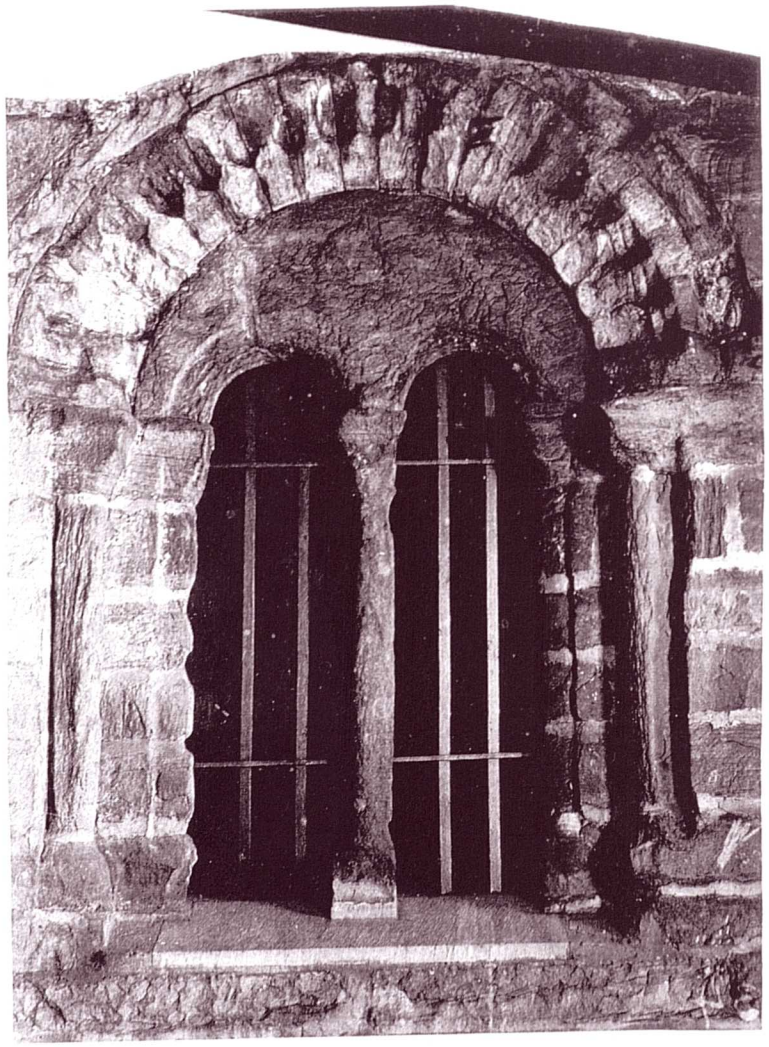


Plate 61. External face of surviving window opening on the south wall of the North Hall

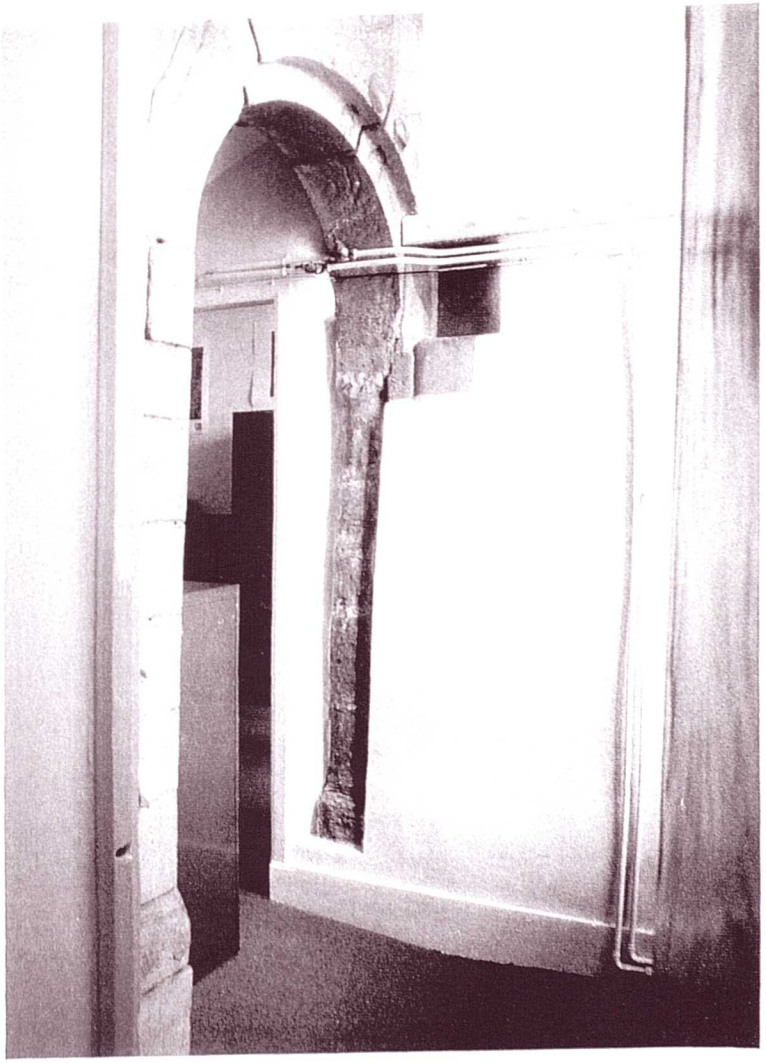


Plate 62. Doorway between North Hall and thirteenth century angle tower

Plate 63. Interior of the Norman Gallery in the North Hall, looking south-east

Plate 64. An individual triplet on the Norman Gallery

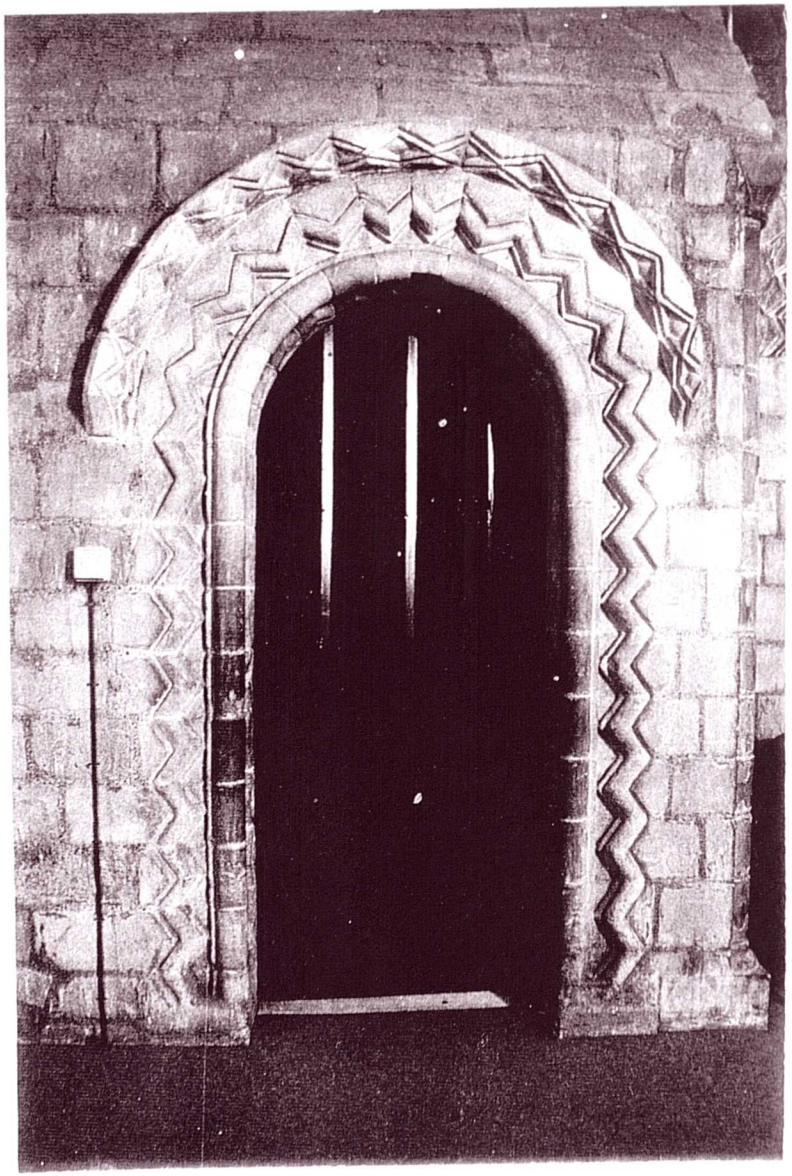


Plate 65. Richly ornamented doorway at the east end of the Norman Gallery, at the top of the stair shown in Plate 50

Plate 66. Detail on west side of the doorway shown in Plate 65; the cut through hood moulding can be seen, centre

Plate 67. Detail of chevron ornamented block
on the string course at Norman Gallery level

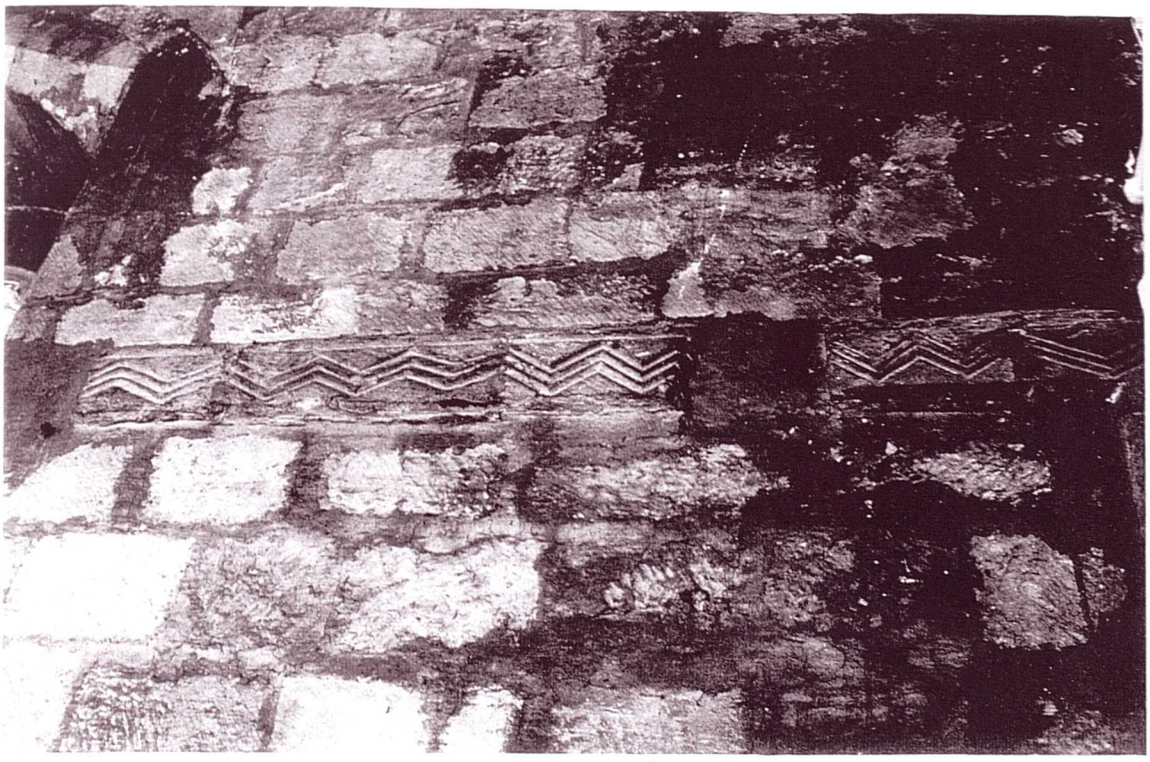


Plate 68. Detail of surviving string course on the north face of the
south wall of the North Hall at Tunstall Gallery level

Plate 69. Sculpted decoration in spandrel at the west end of the North Hall. Above left, a mason's mark can be seen

Plate 70. Sculpted decoration in spandrel at the west end of the North Hall

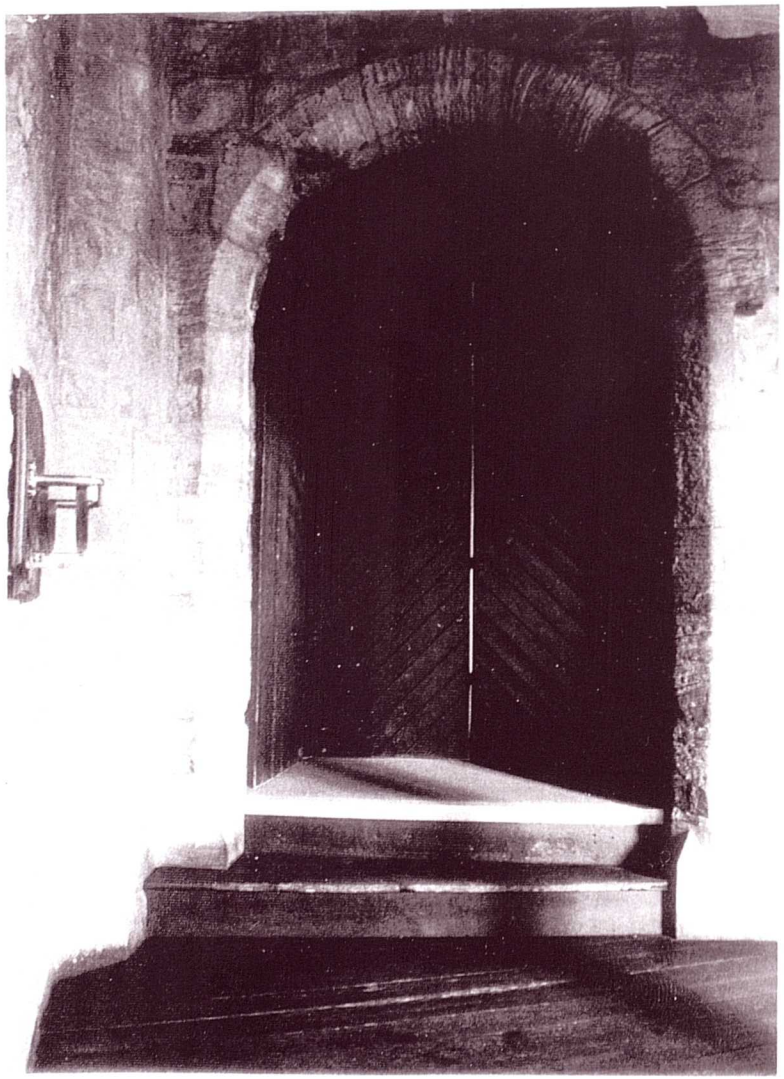


Plate 71. Exit from the Norman Gallery
to the Black Stairs from the stairs side

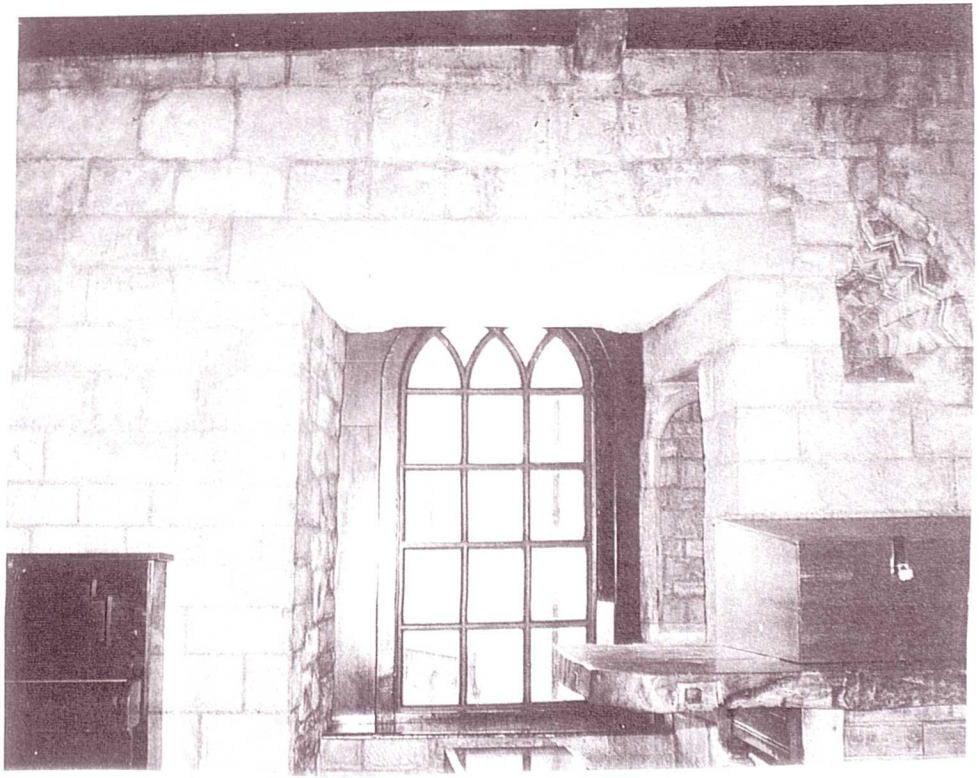


Plate 72. Collapsed triplet on Norman Gallery

Plate 73. Present interior of Norman Chapel, looking east

Plate 74. Present interior of Norman Chapel, looking west

Plate 75. East wall of the Norman Chapel, showing splayed opening and responds

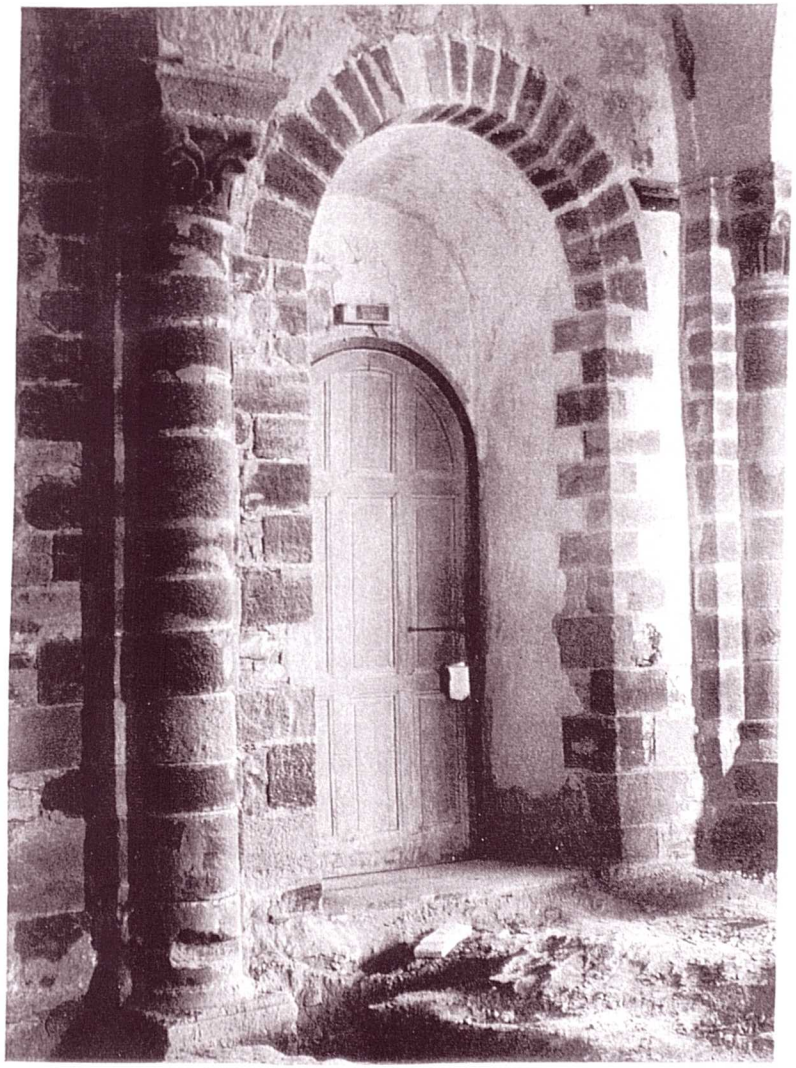


Plate 76. North door and responds in eleventh century hall/chapel at Laval, Maine in France

Plate 77. The floor of the Norman Chapel

Plate 78. North wall of Norman Chapel; the opening is believed to be a sally-porte. Within it is the surviving fragment of the capital shown in plate 80

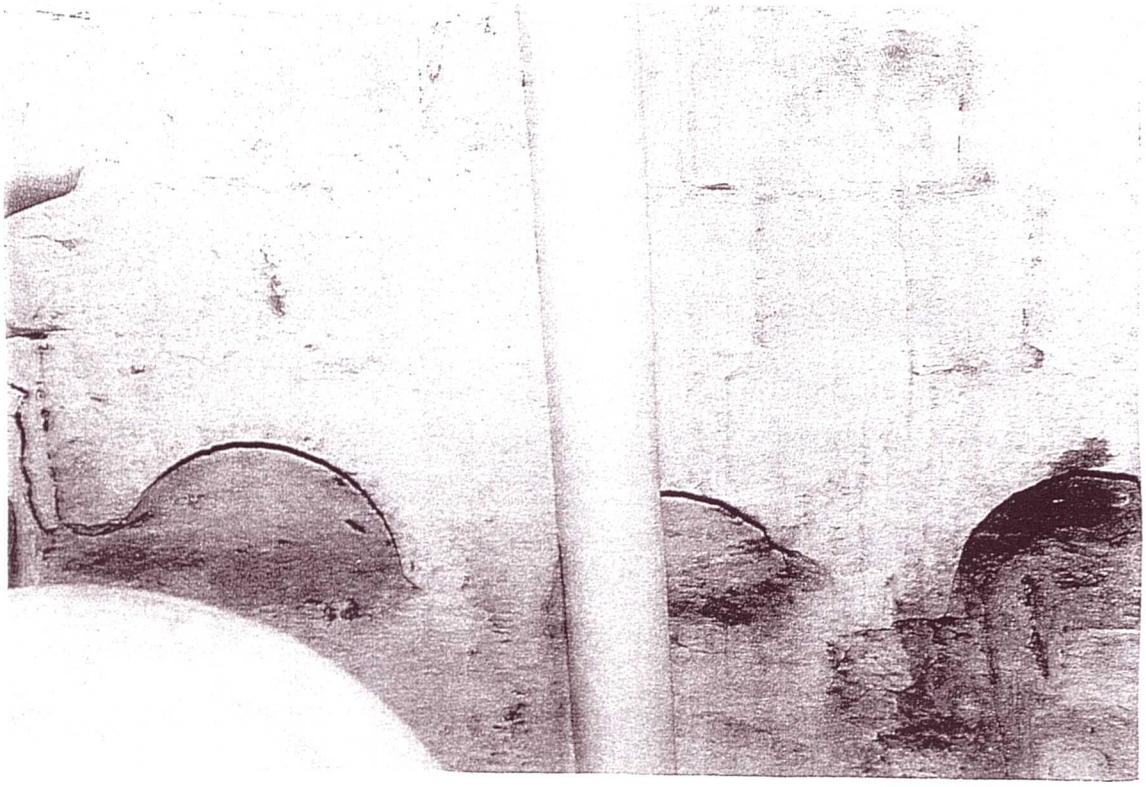


Plate 79. Length of Romanesque corbel table,
re-used in boiler room, west of Norman Chapel

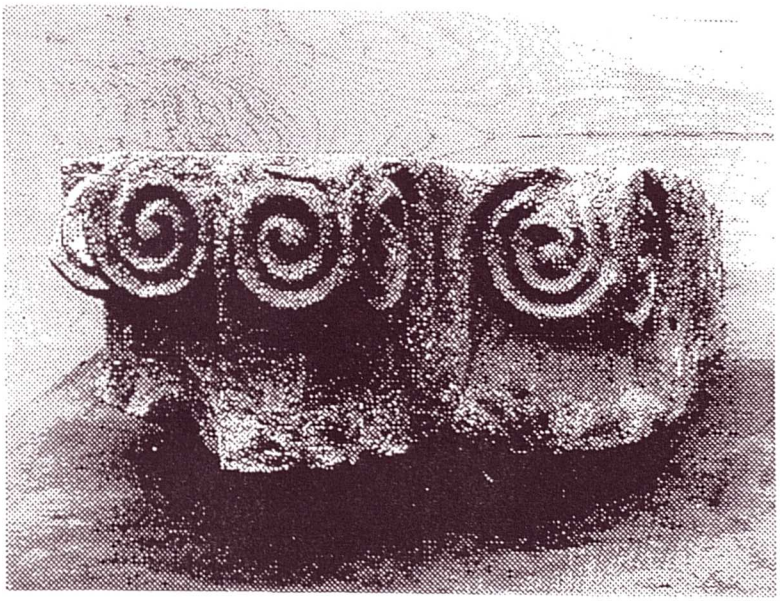


Plate 80. Romanesque capital found to the west of the Norman Chapel

Plate 81. Capital in Fulling Mill Museum, Durham, believed to have come from Durham Castle

Plate 82. Another face of the same capital

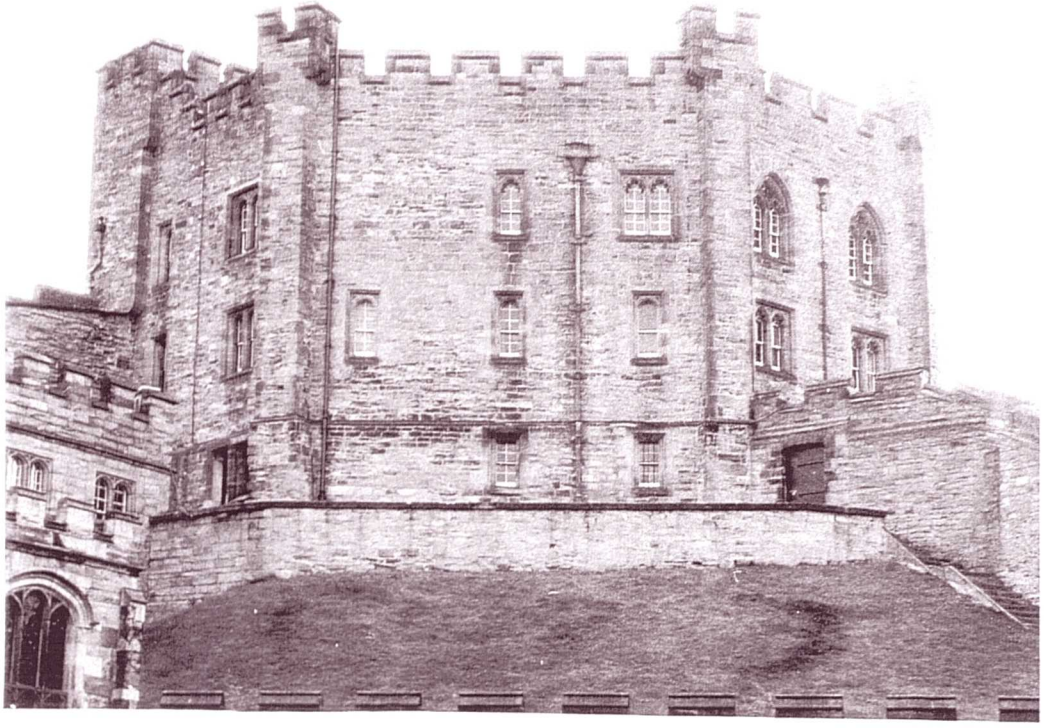


Plate 83. The Keep, looking east from the Courtyard

Plate 84. North section of the Courtyard Heating Trench (DC91A), looking south. The robbed west wall of the East Range is on the right.

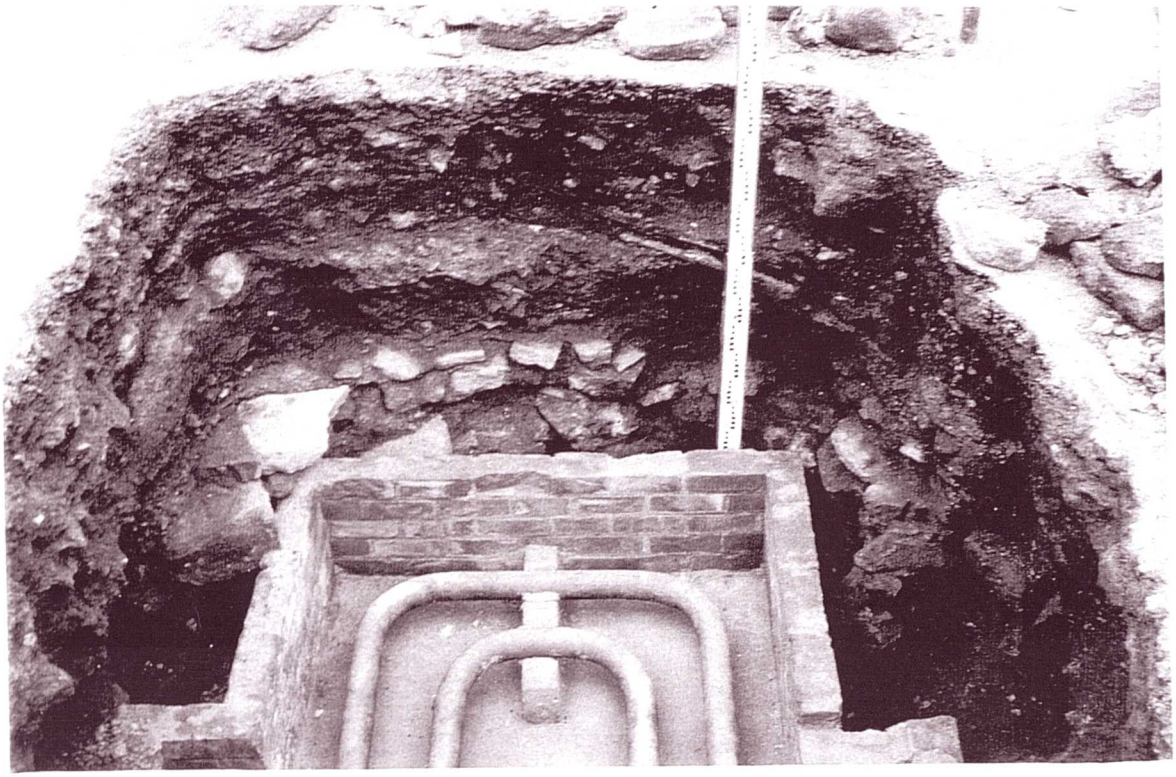


Plate 85. South section of Courtyard Heating Trench (DC91A);
Part of the west wall of the East Range can be seen in the left corner

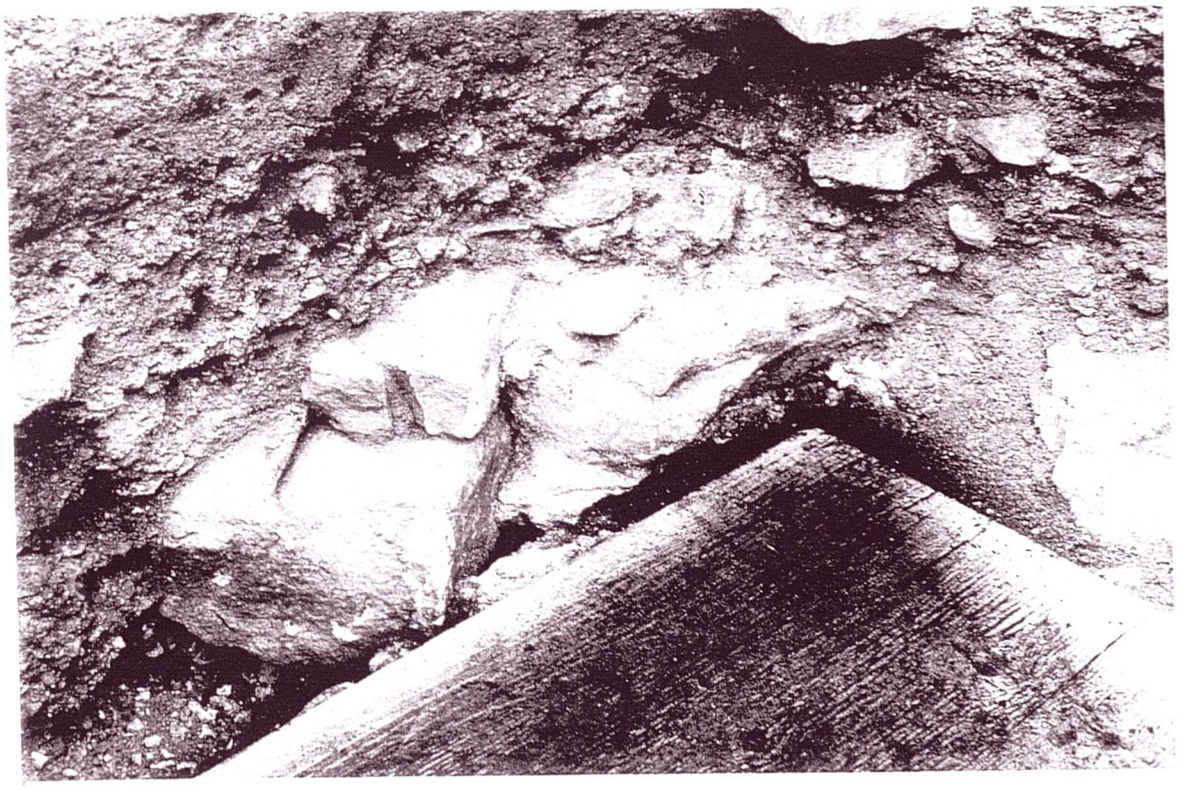


Plate 86. Detail of surviving fragment of the west wall
of the East Range showing dressed stone face

Plate 87. Bastion Tower below Keep, looking west

Plate 88. Interior of the Bastion Tower, showing openings

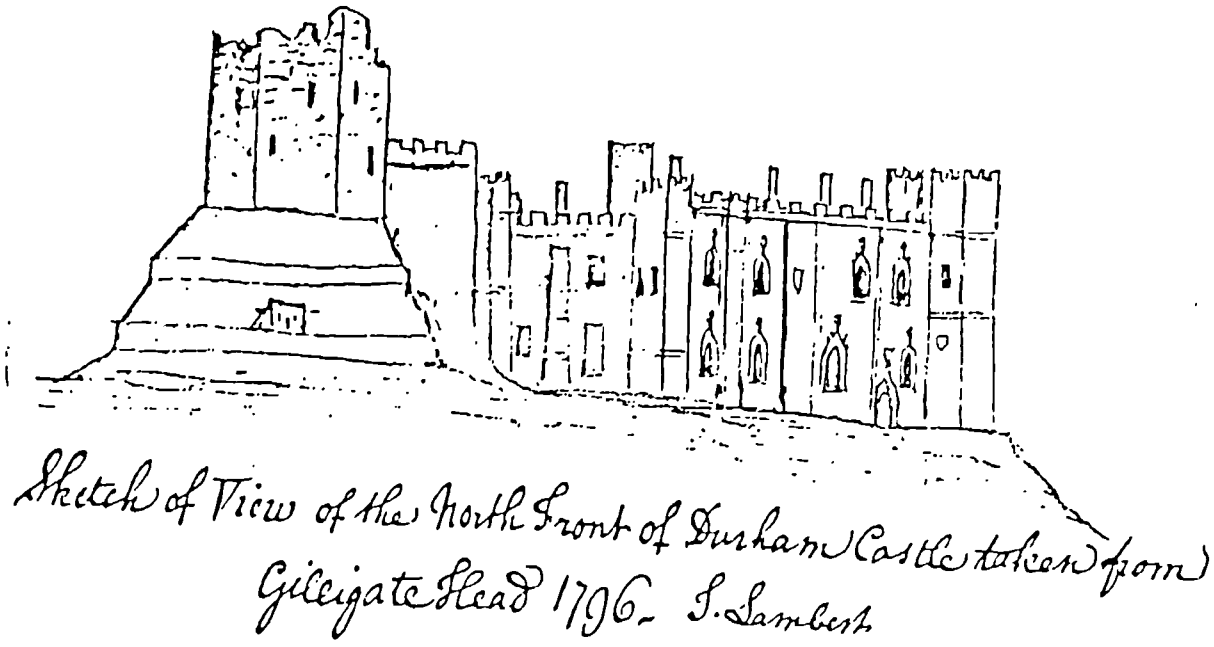


Plate 89. Drawing of the North side of the Castle by Lambert, 1796

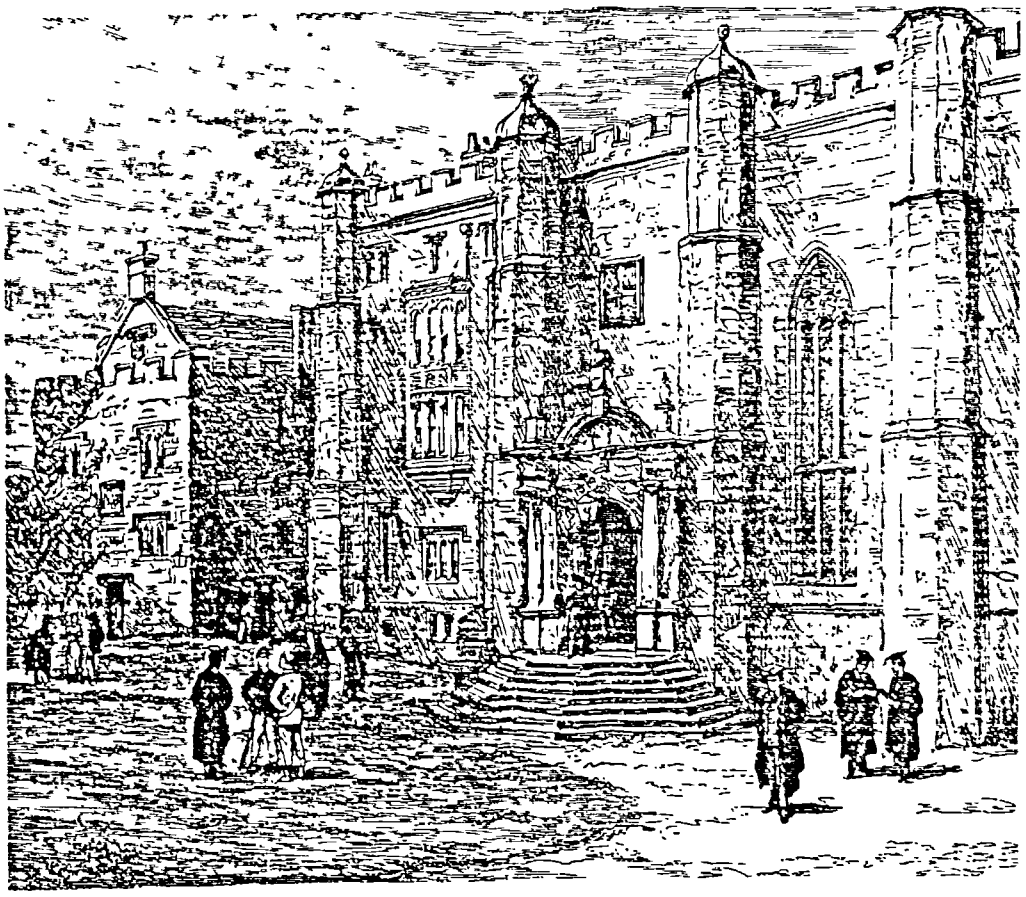


Plate 90. Drawing of the Great Hall from an article by Boyle, 1890

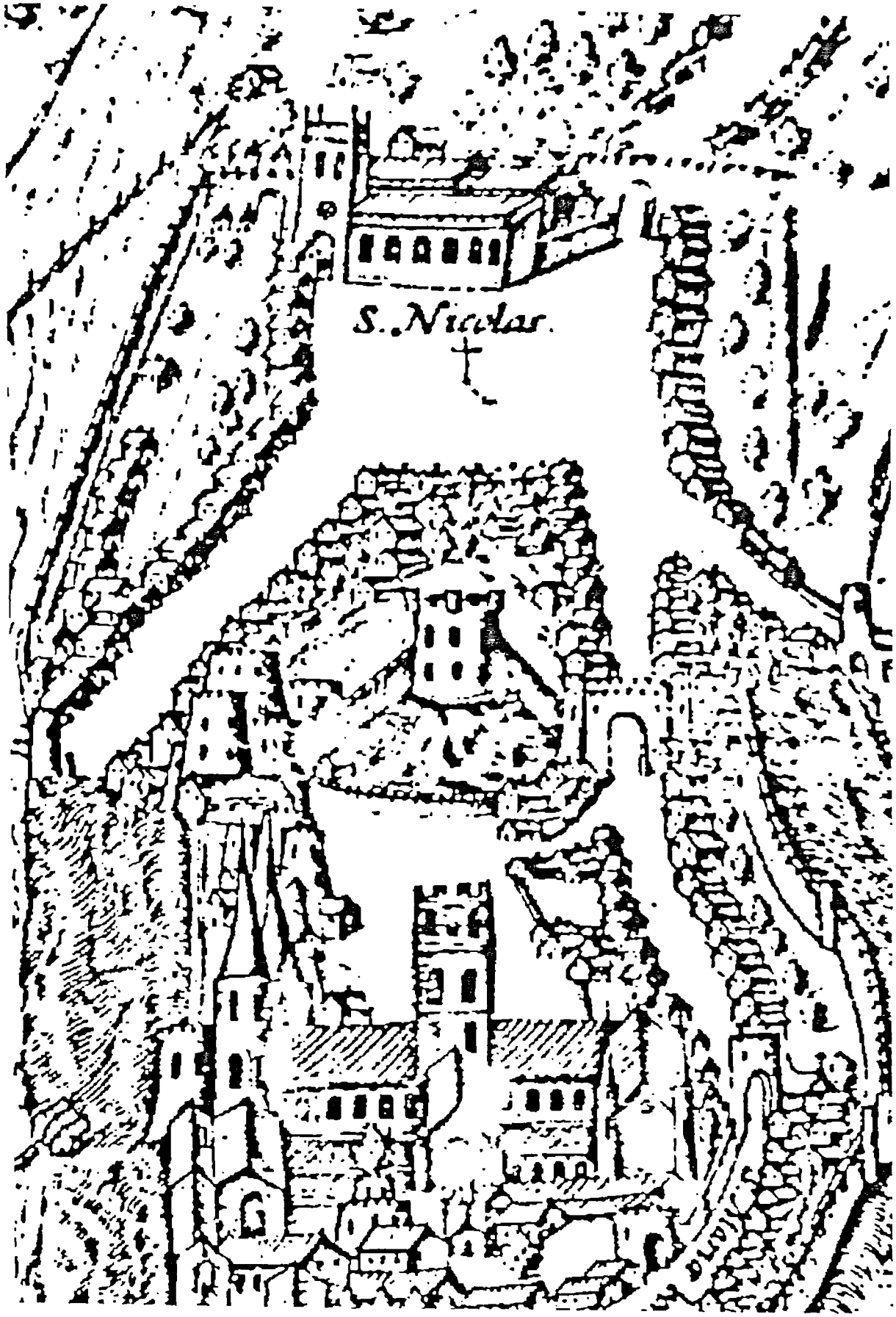


Plate 91. Map of Durham City by Patteson, 1595. (Detail of Castle)

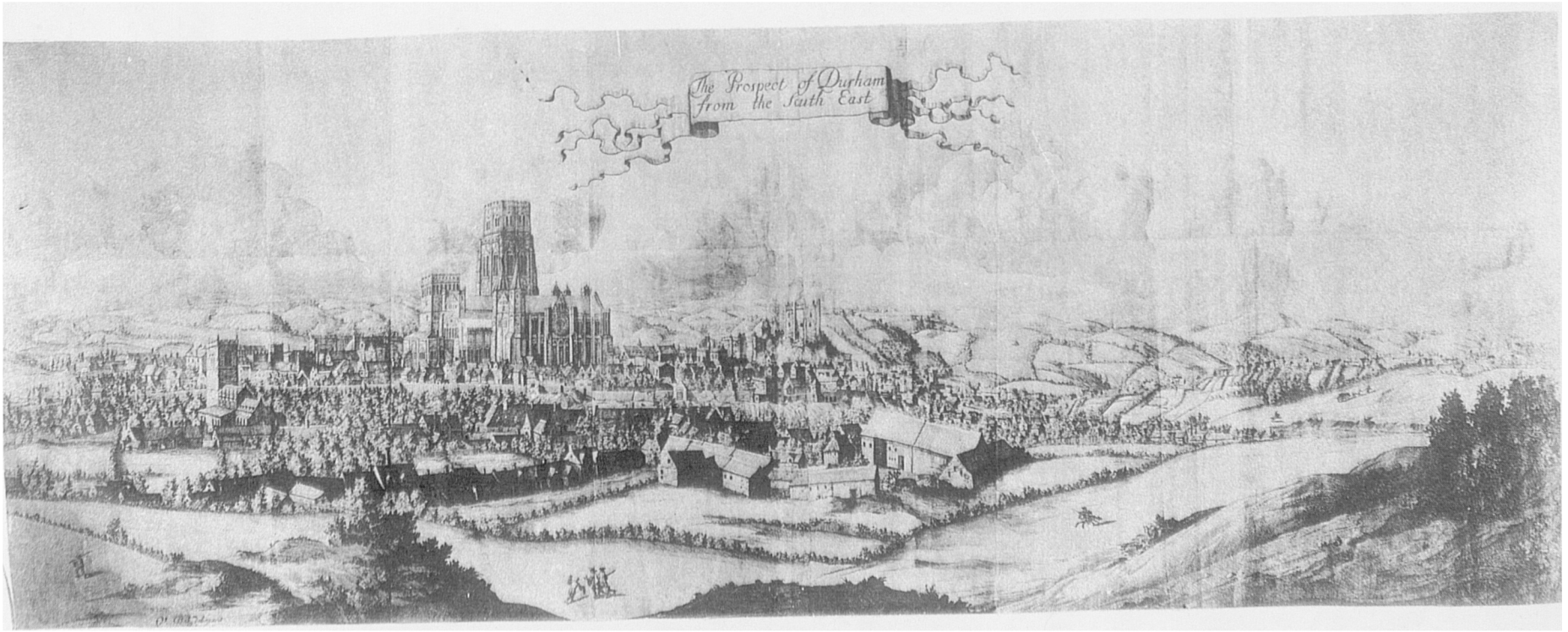


Plate 92. South-east view of Durham City by V.Bok, c. 1657-1665

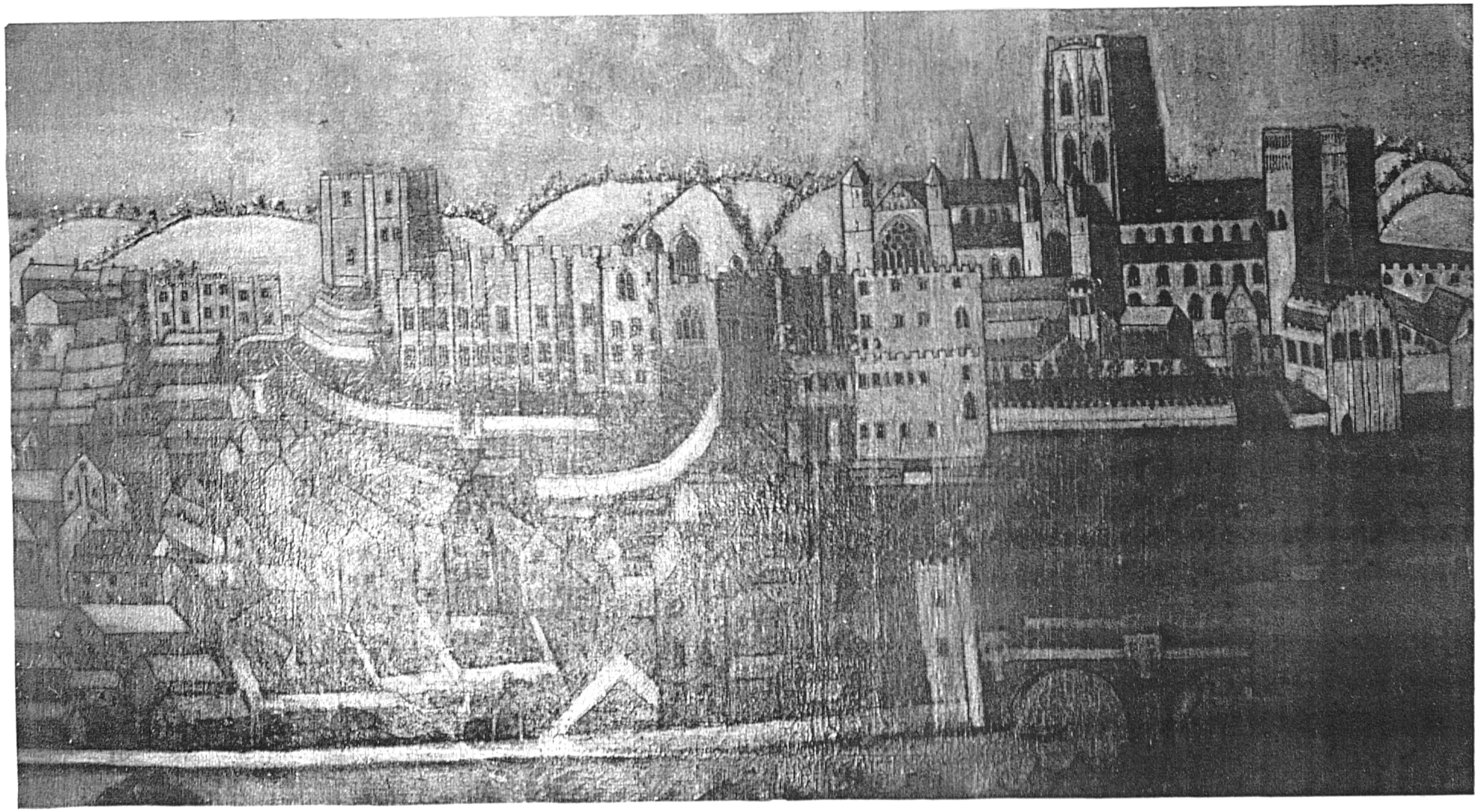


Plate 93. Black and white north-west view of Castle, c. 1700

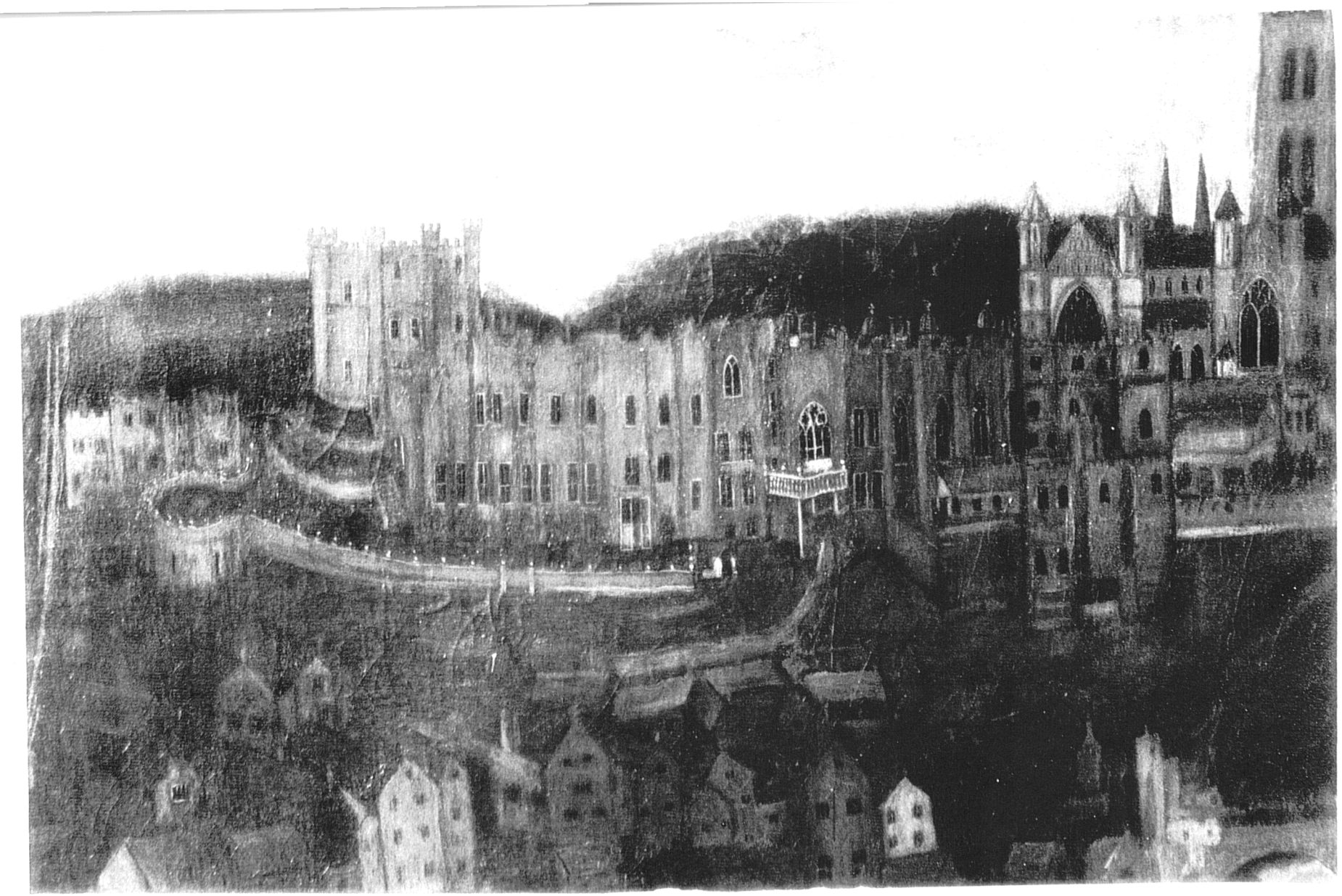


Plate 94. Colour north-west view of Castle, c. 1700

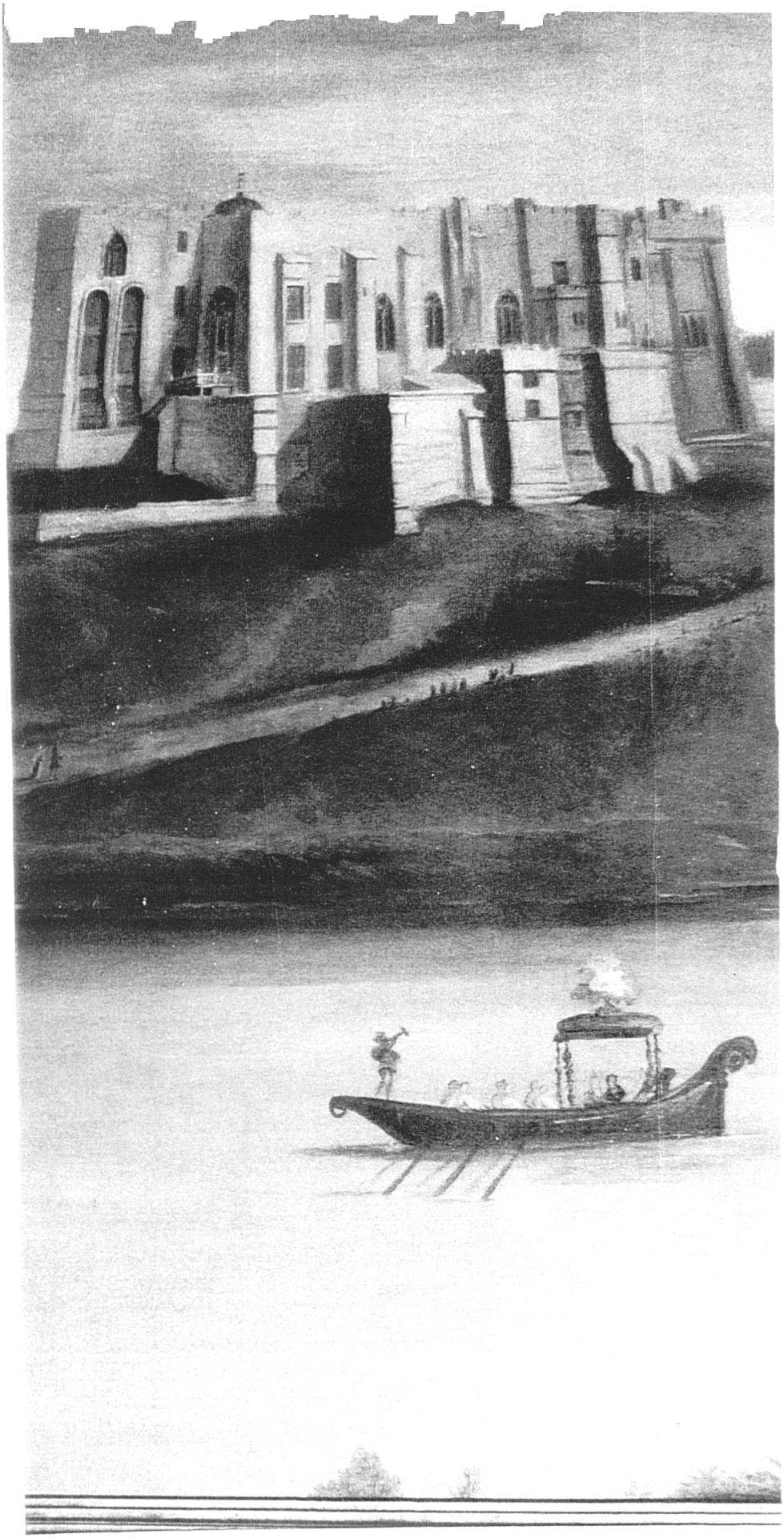


Plate 95. West view of the Castle from South Street, c.1700

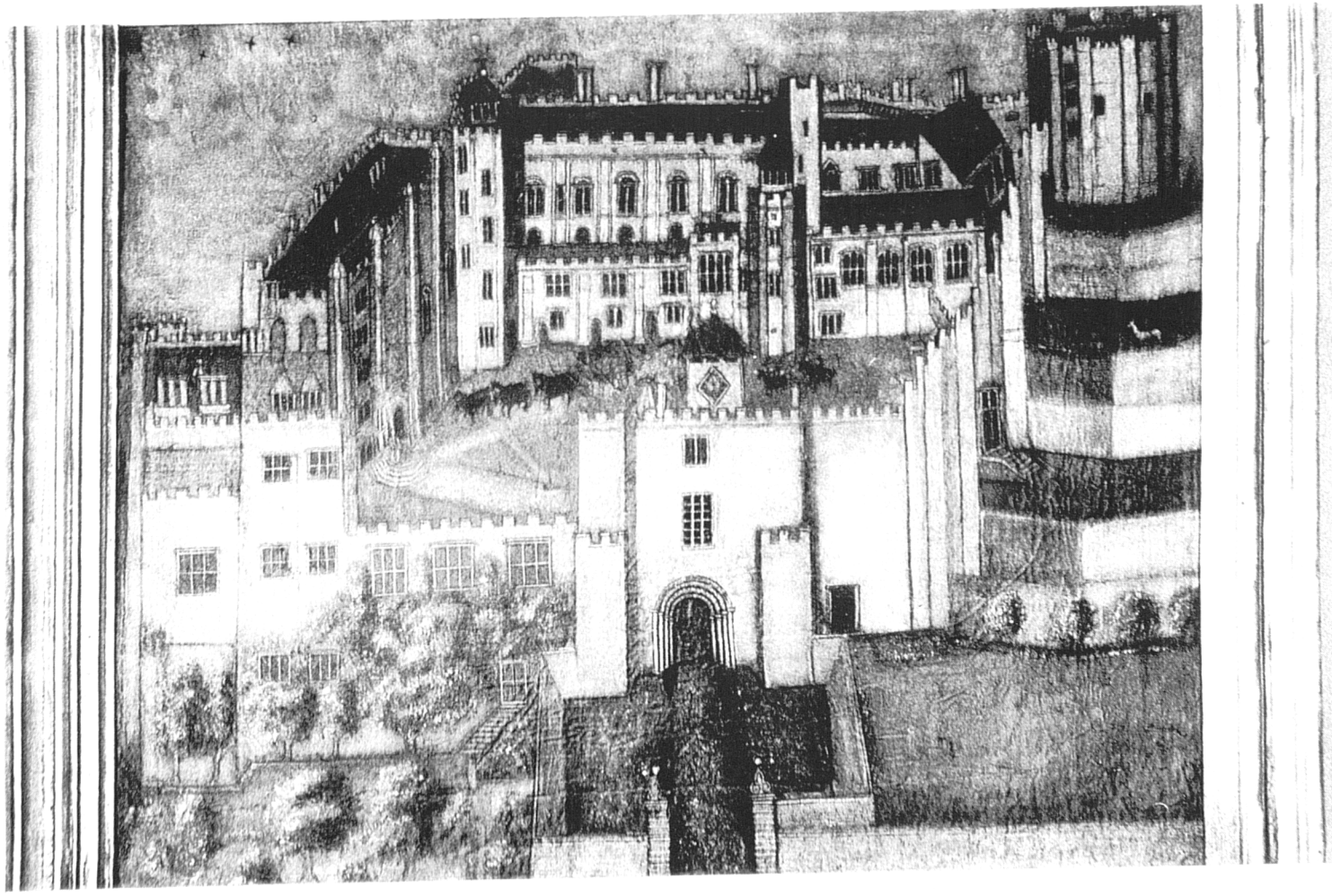
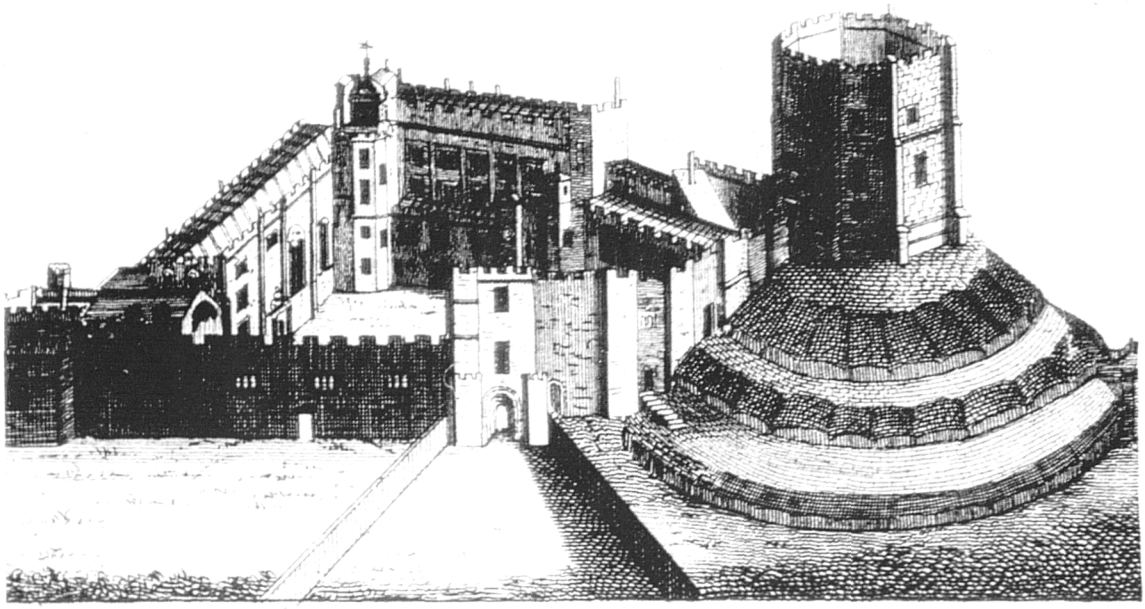


Plate 96. View of Castle Courtyard, looking north, c. 1700



The South View of Durham Castle, being the Bishops Palace

Plate 97. South-west view of the Castle by Samuel and Nathaniel Buck, 1728

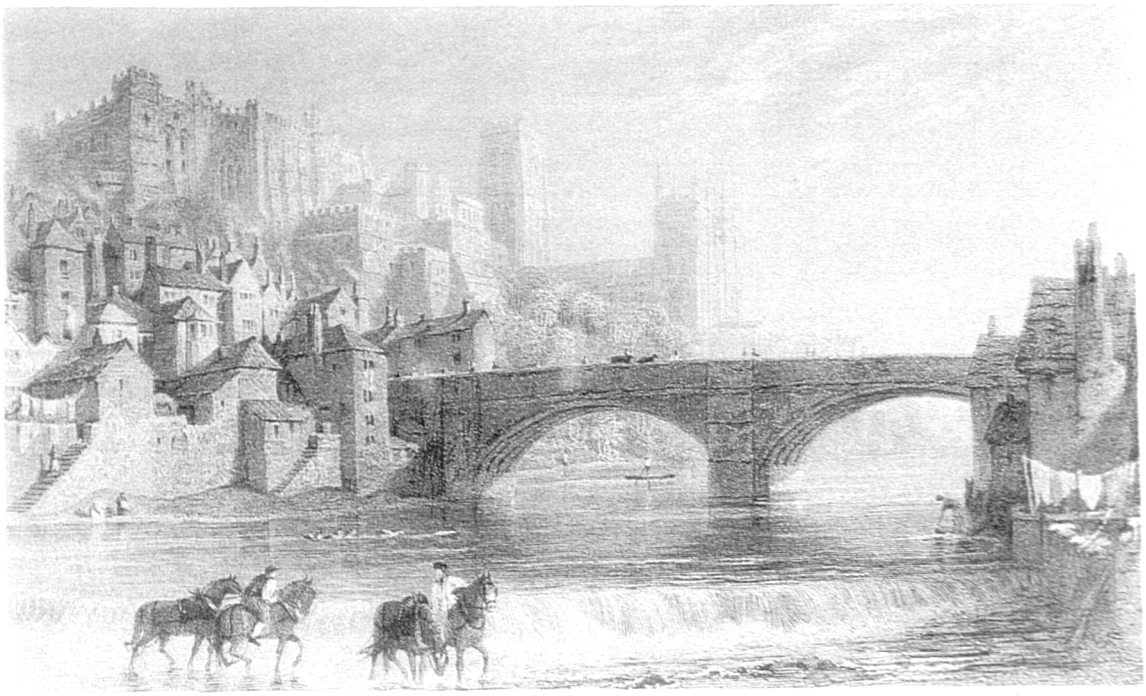


Plate 98. North-west view of the Castle from Framwellgate by Allom and Rose, 1832

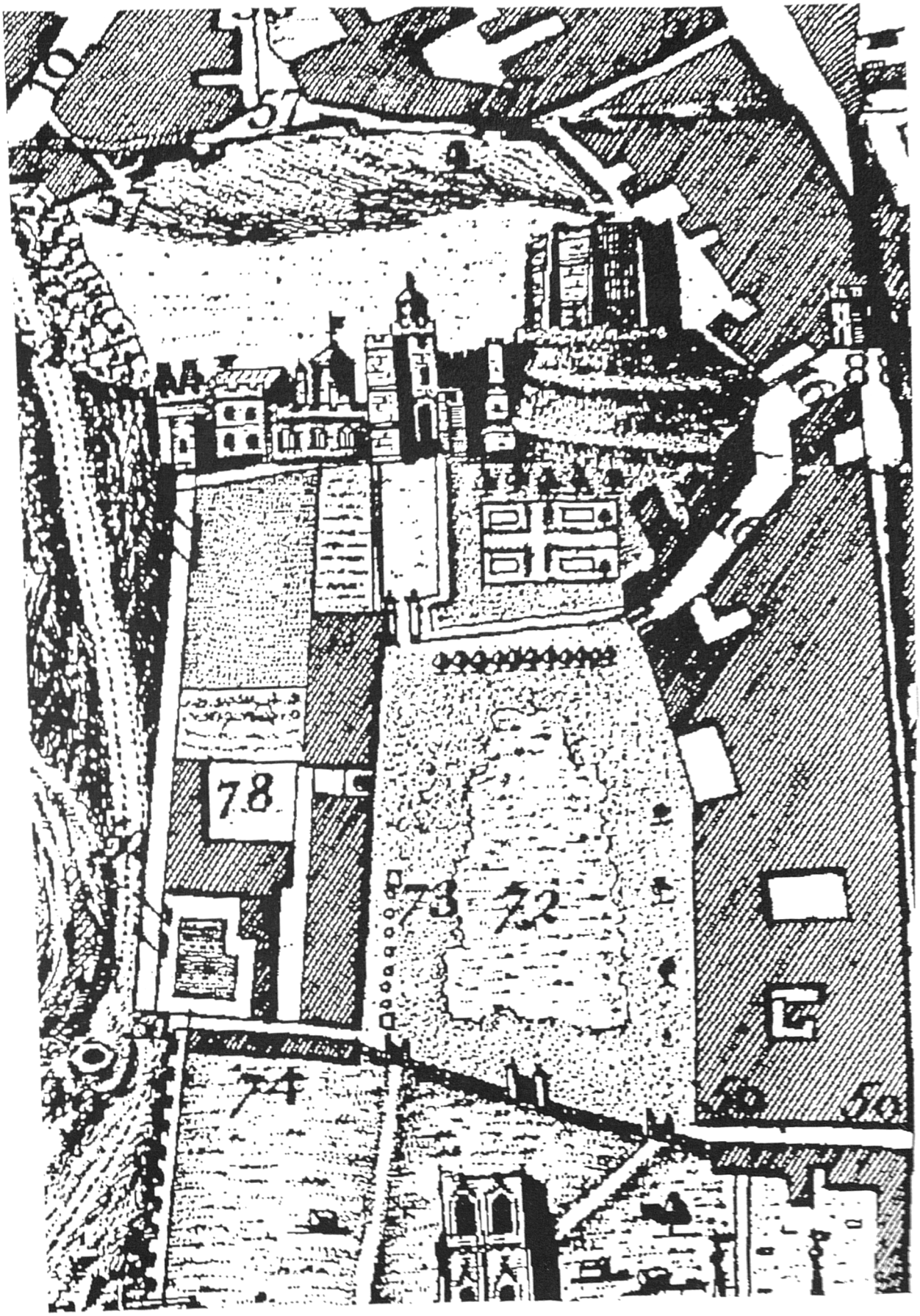


Plate 99. Detail of the Castle from the Map of the City by Forster, 1754

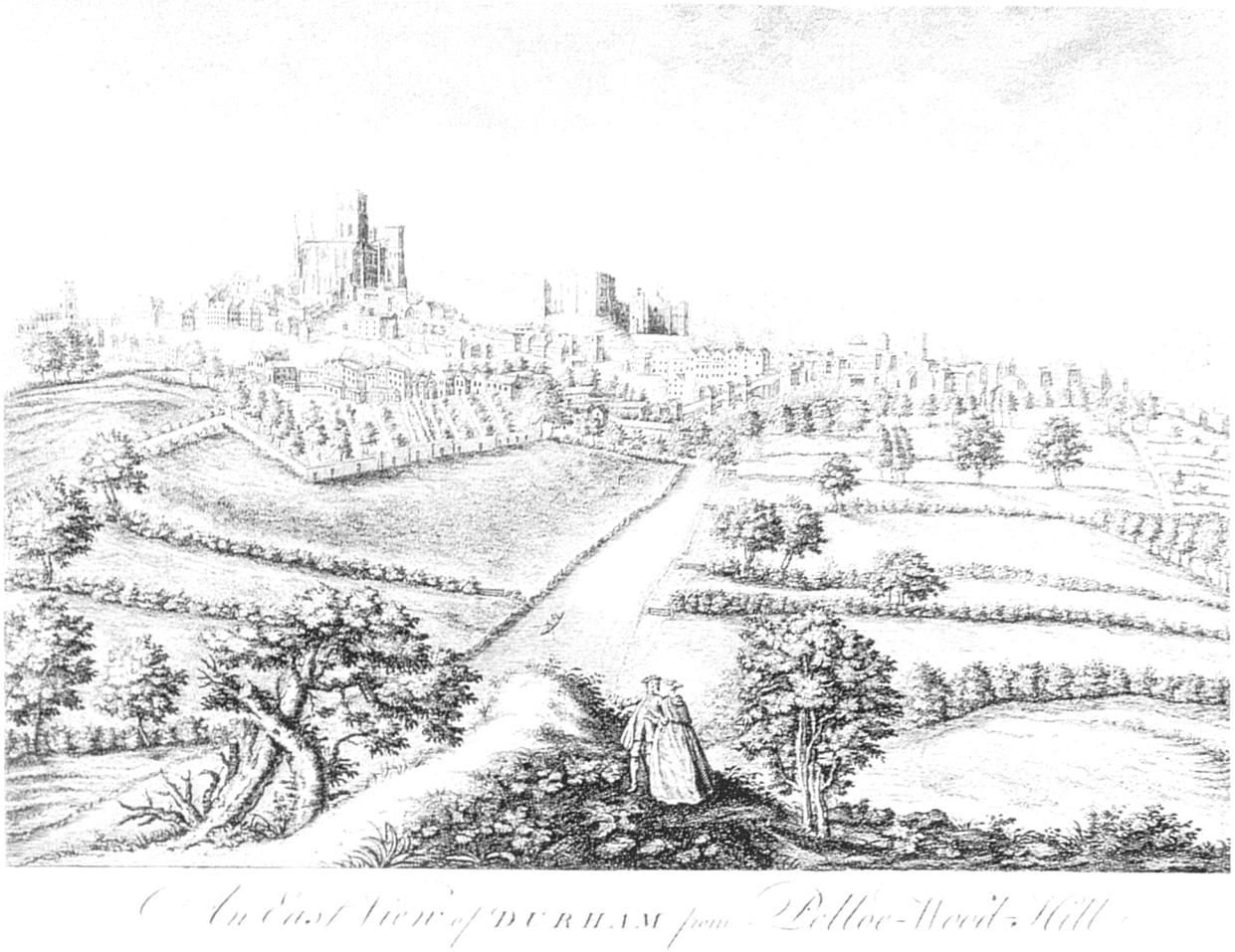


Plate 100. East view of City by Forster, 1754

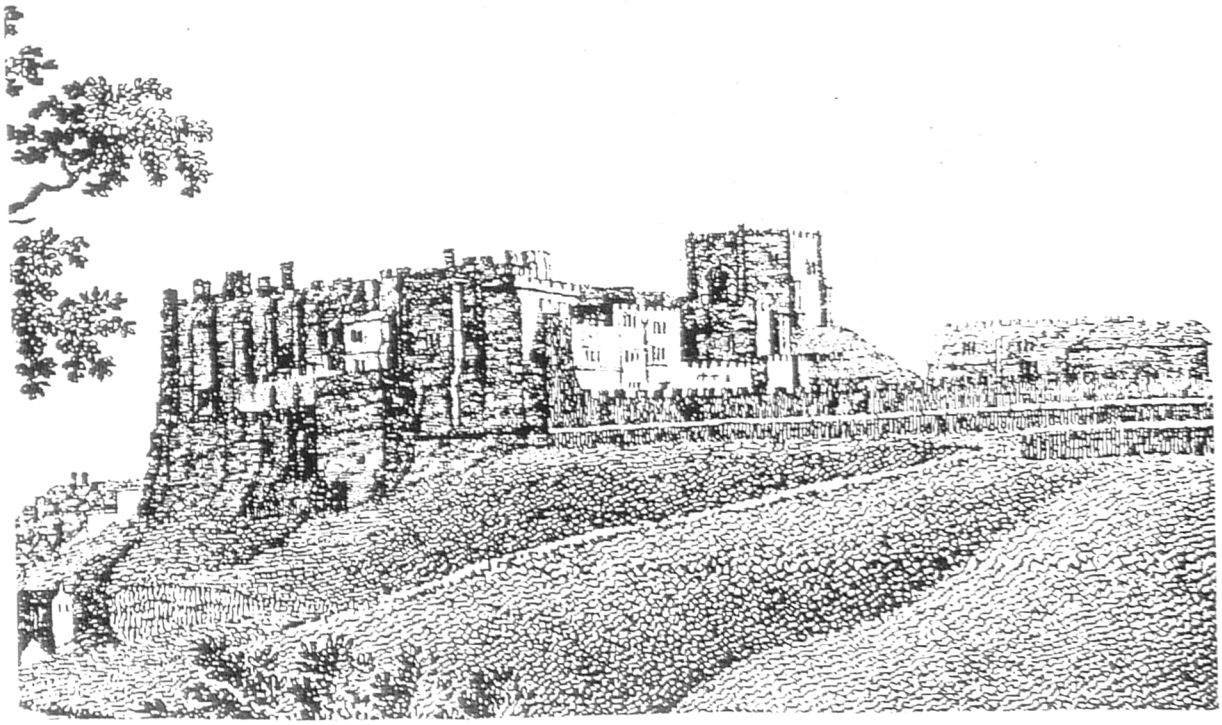


Plate 101. South-west view of the Castle by Grose, 1774

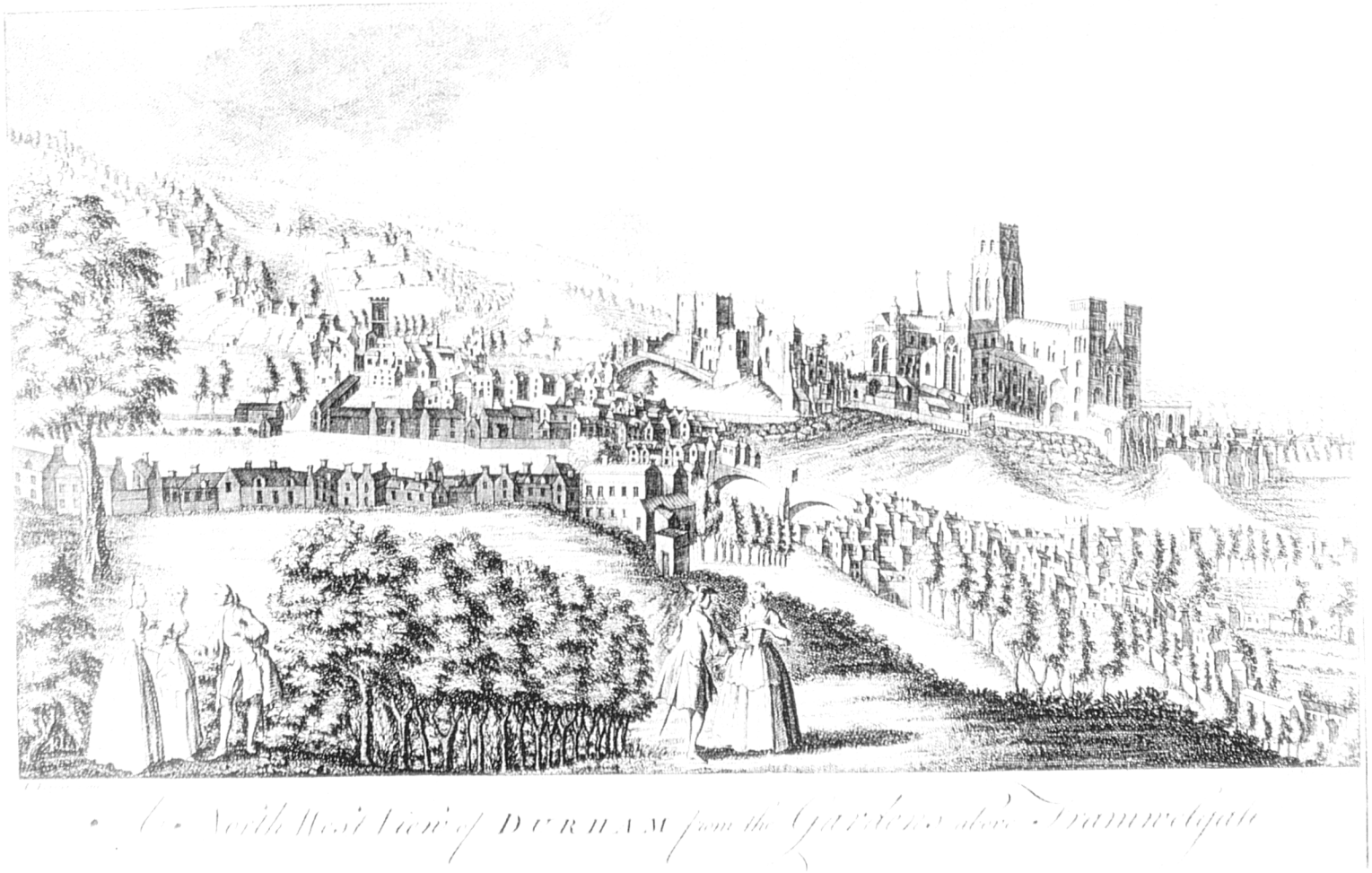


Plate 102. North-west view of Durham City by Forster, 1754

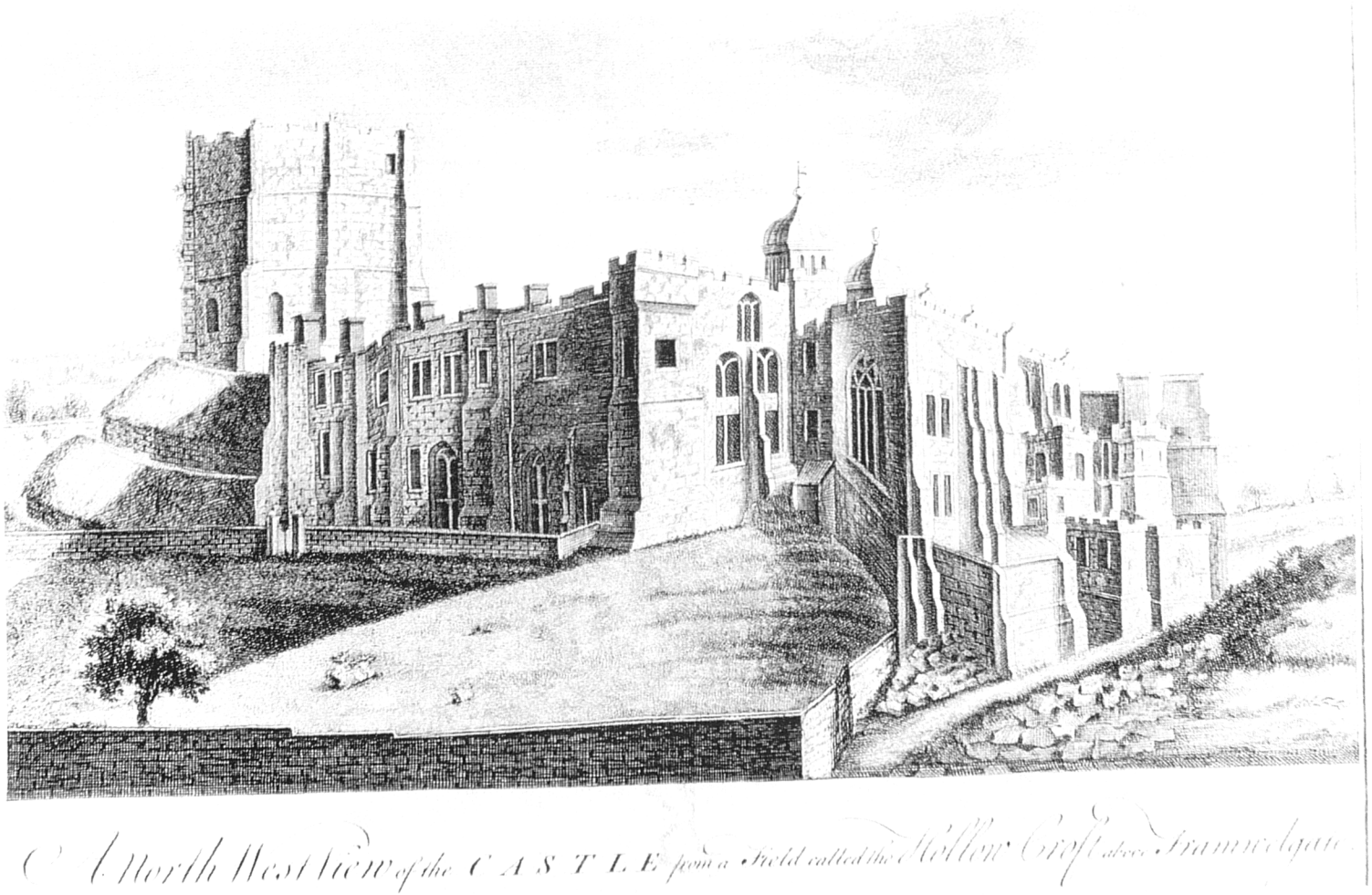


Plate 103. Close up north-west view of Durham Castle by Forster, 1754

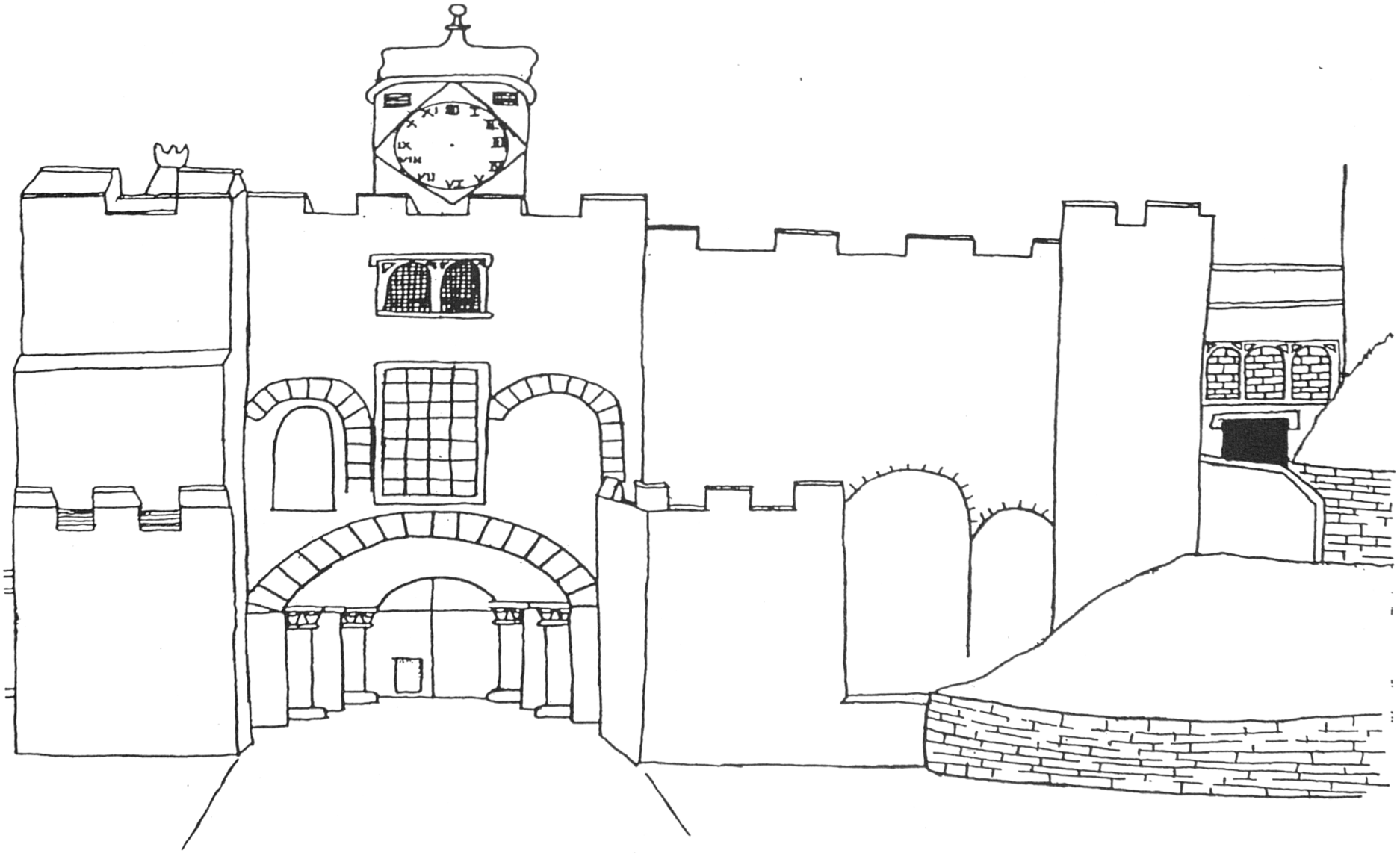


Plate 104. Impression of Castle Gatehouse, c. 1778, looking north (after Grimm)

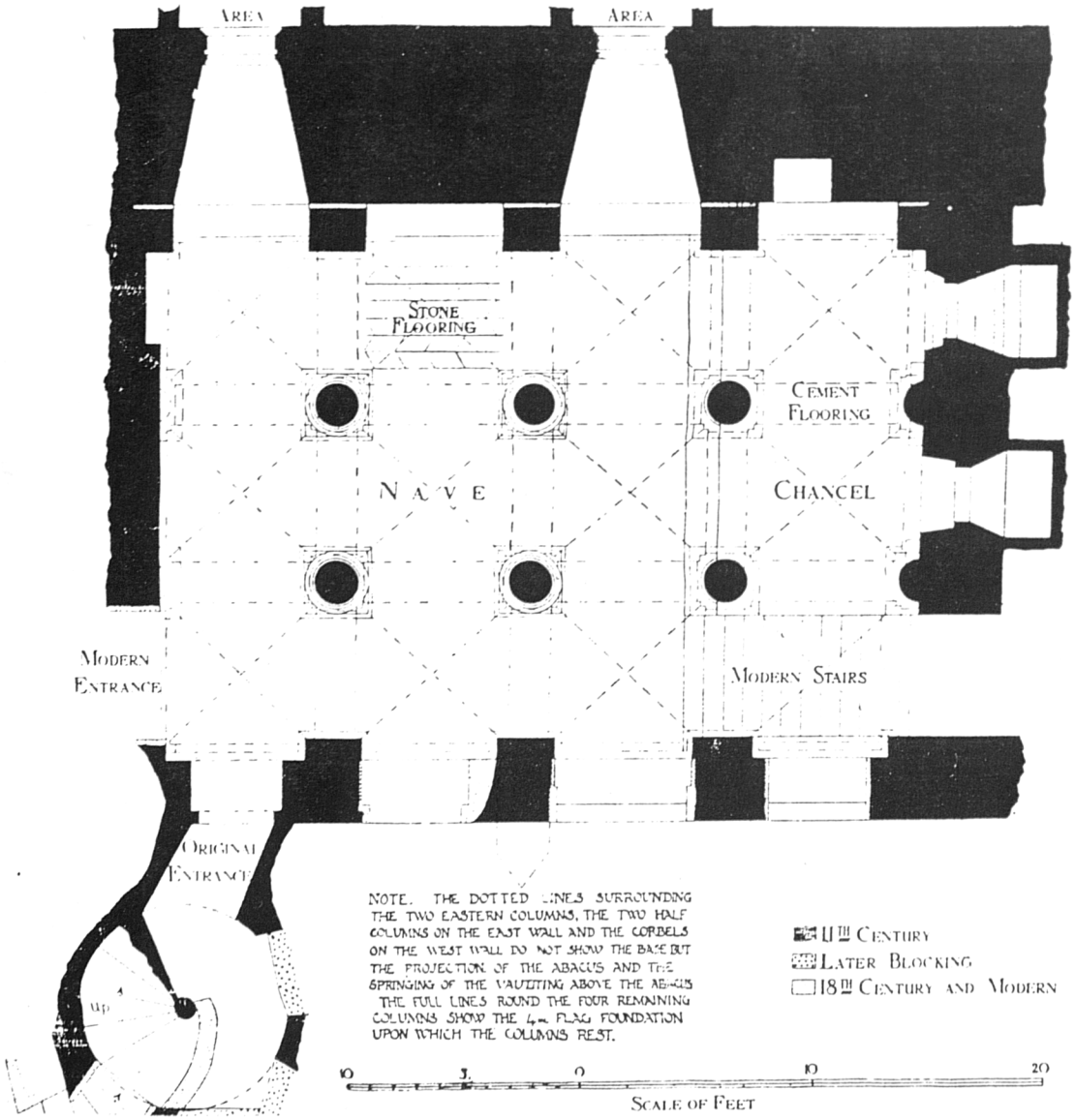
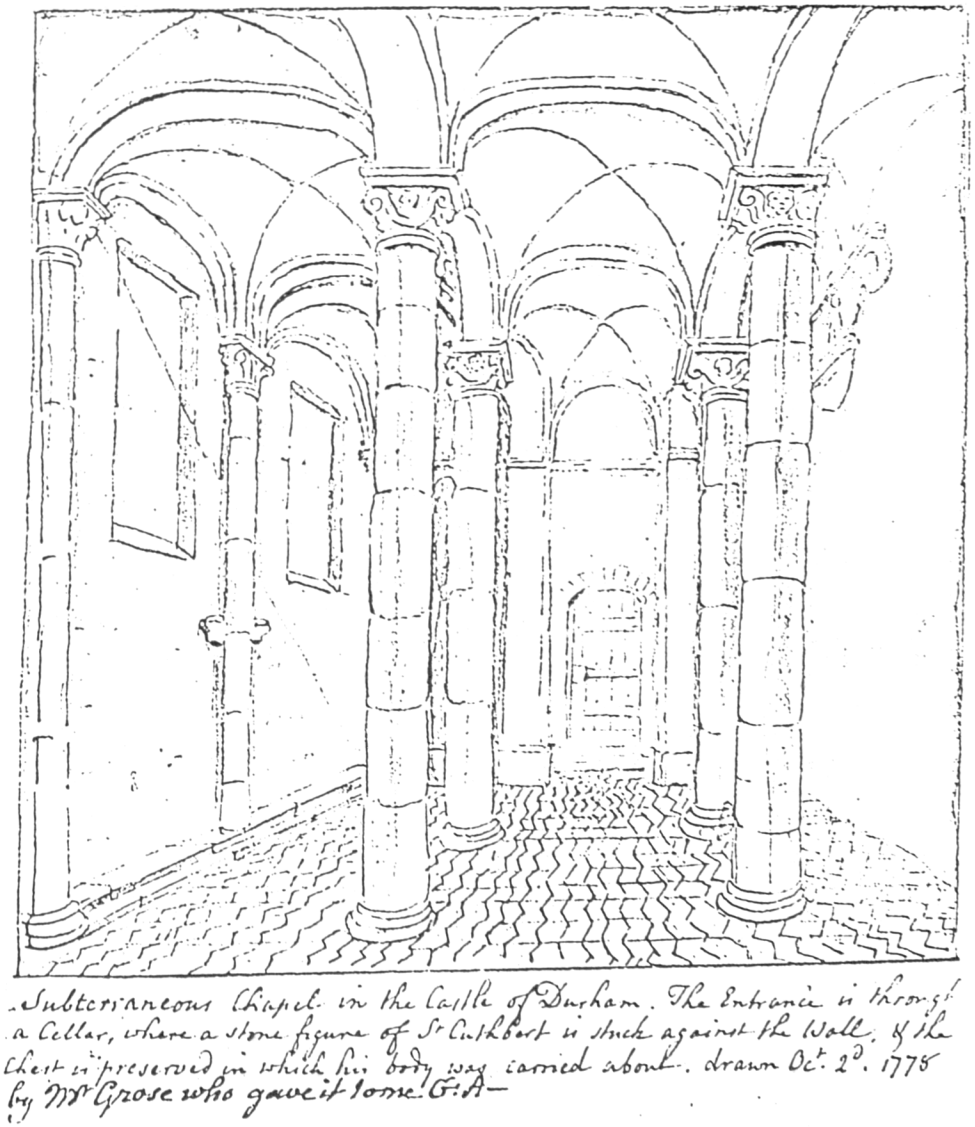


Plate 105. Plan of Norman Chapel from the Victoria County History (1905)



Subterraneous Chapel in the Castle of Durham. The Entrance is through a Cellar, where a stone figure of St Cuthbert is stuck against the Wall, & the Chest is preserved in which his body was carried about. Drawn Oct. 2d. 1778 by Mr Grose who gave it to me. G. A—

Plate 106. Drawing of the Norman Chapel by Grimm c.1778

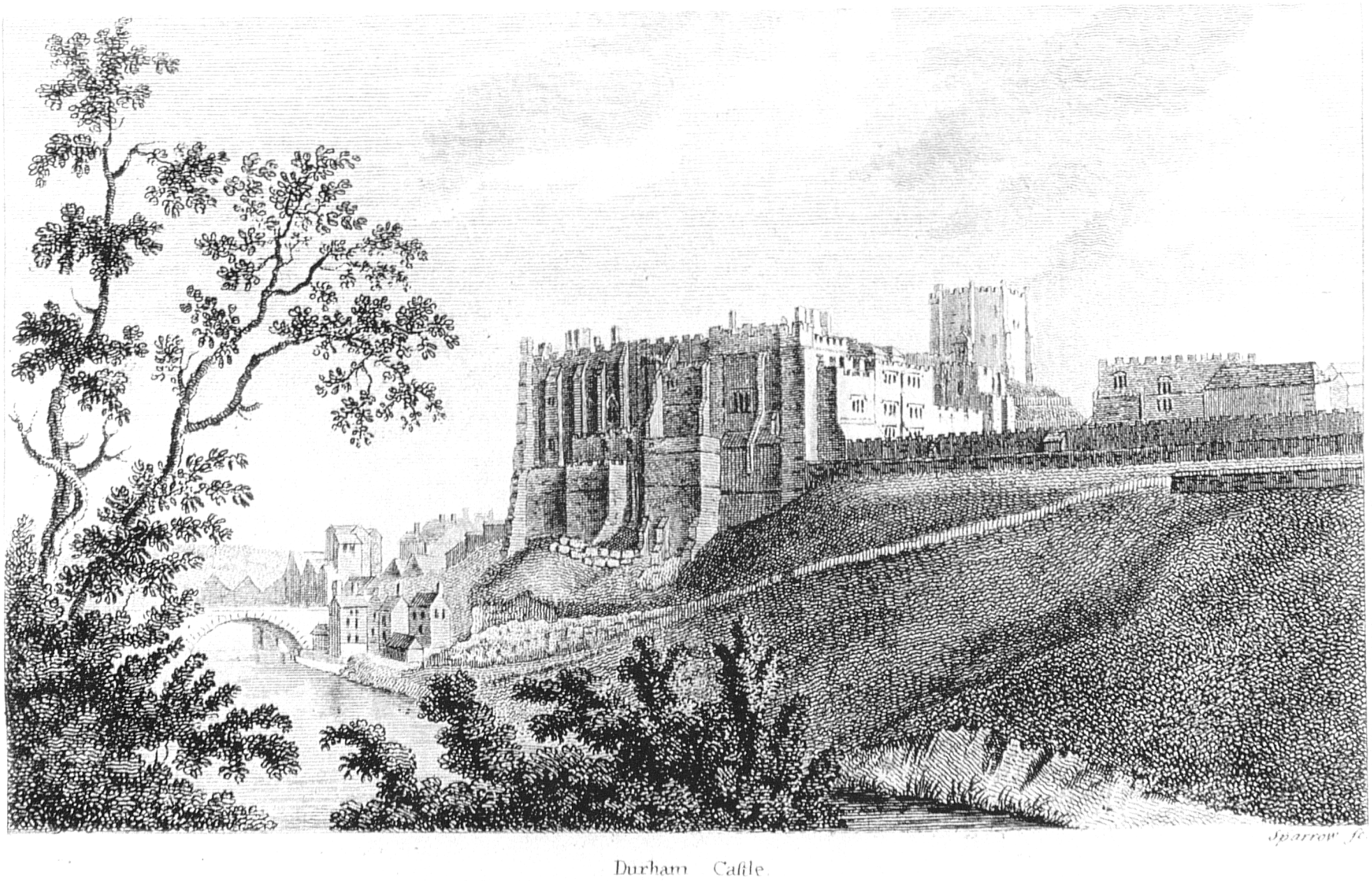


Plate 107. South-west view of Durham Castle by Sparrow, 1784

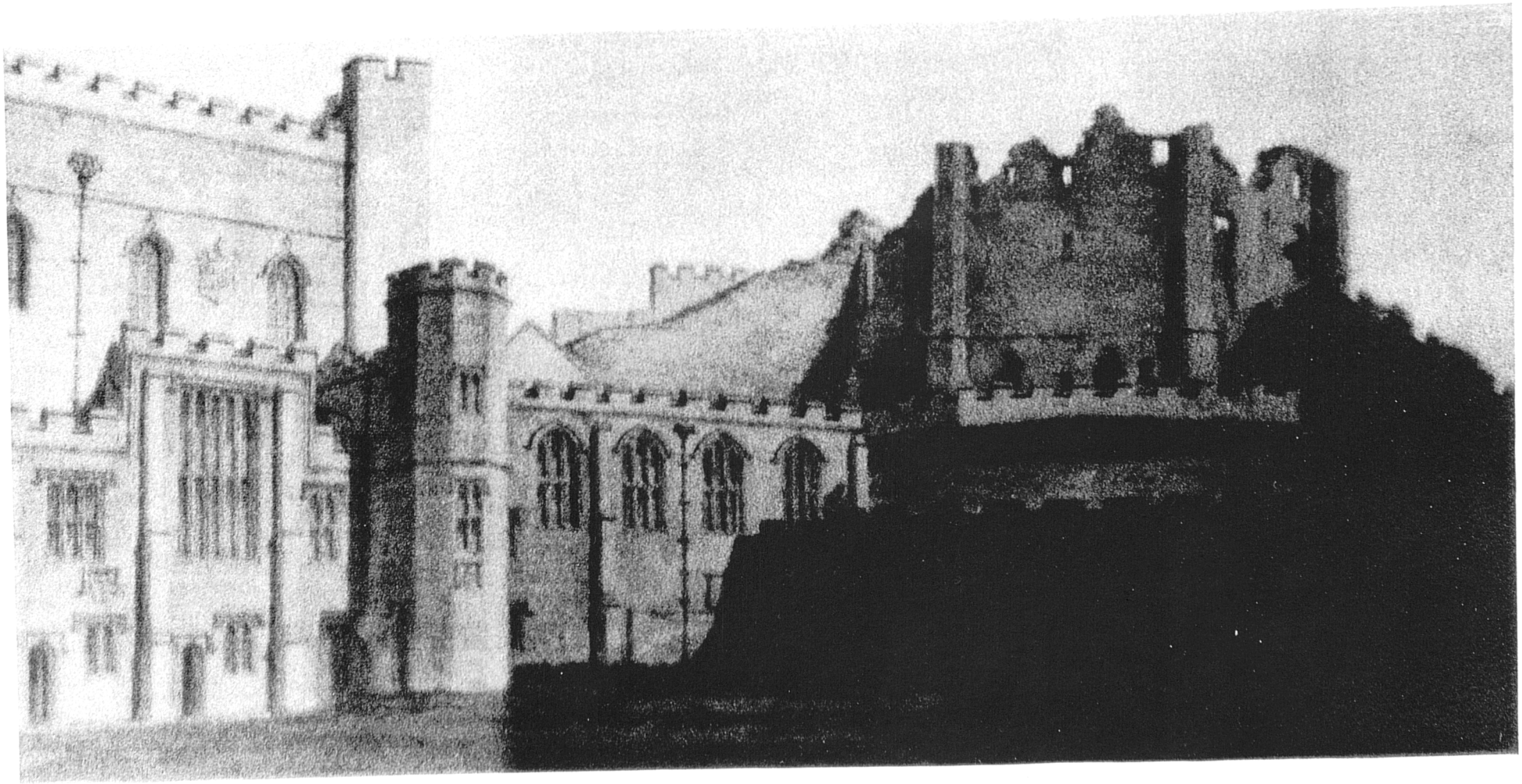


Plate 108. View of Castle Courtyard looking east. by J. G. Buckler, c. 1800

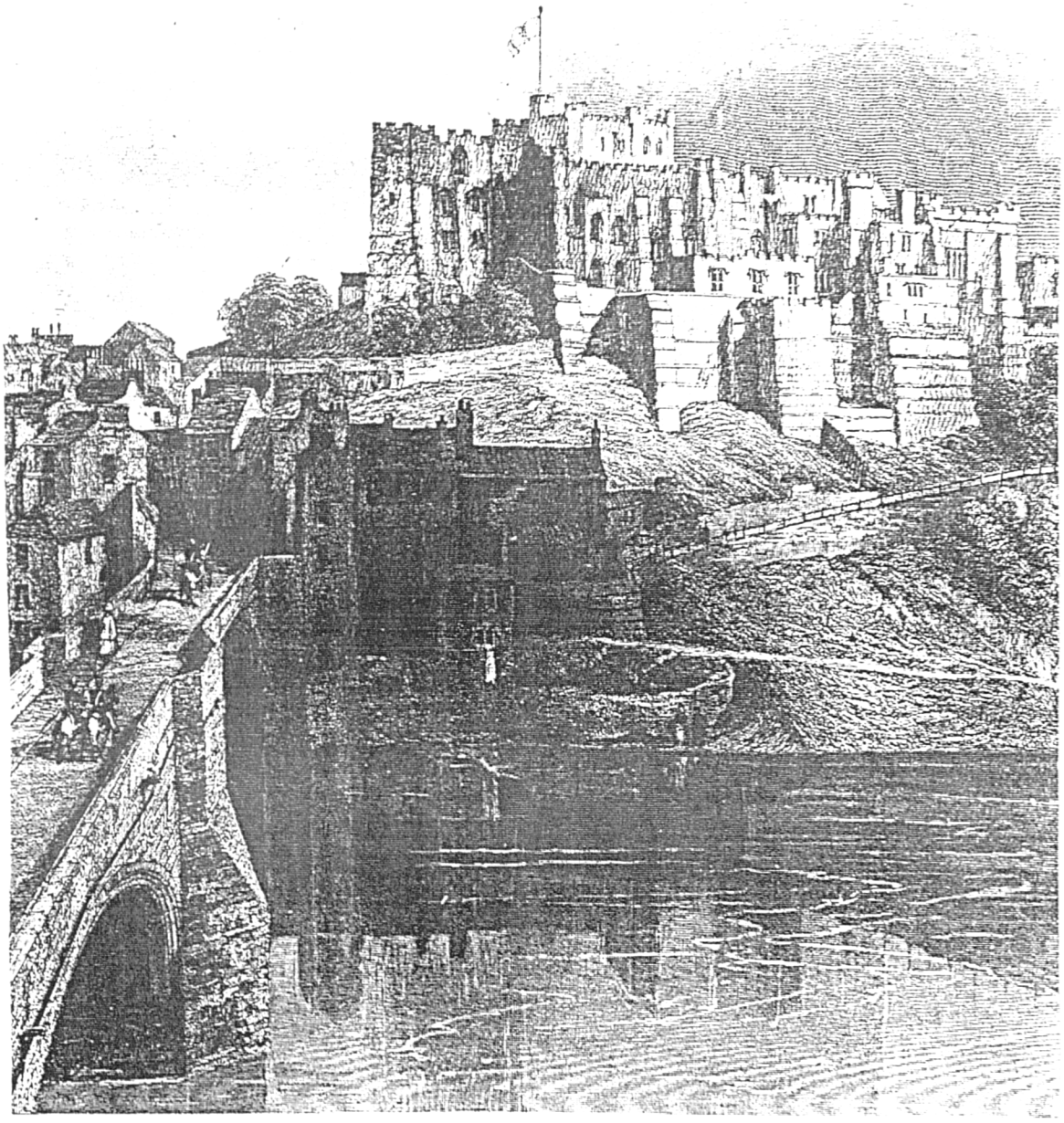


Plate 109. West view of Castle by Billings, 1846

Plate 110. View of Castle Courtyard, looking north-west, by Billings, 1846

Plate 111. The Norman Chapel looking west, pre-1951, north aisle

Plate 112. The Norman Chapel looking west, pre-1951, south aisle

Plate 113. Interior of eleventh century hall
at Chepstow Castle, Monmouthshire

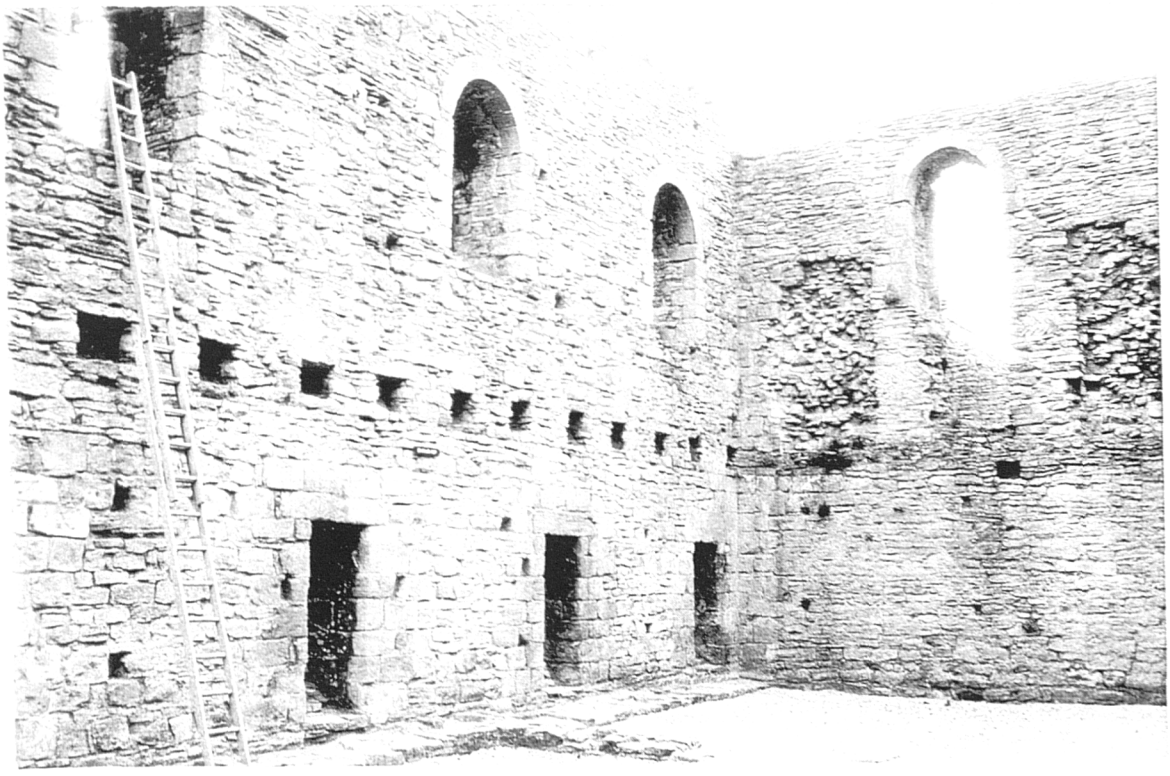


Plate 114. The interior of the eleventh century hall ('Scolland's Hall)
at Richmond Castle, Yorkshire

Plate 115. The exterior of the eleventh century hall ('Scolland's Hall) at Richmond Castle, Yorkshire

Plate 116. Detail of decorated capitals in the choir at Fécamp, Normandy

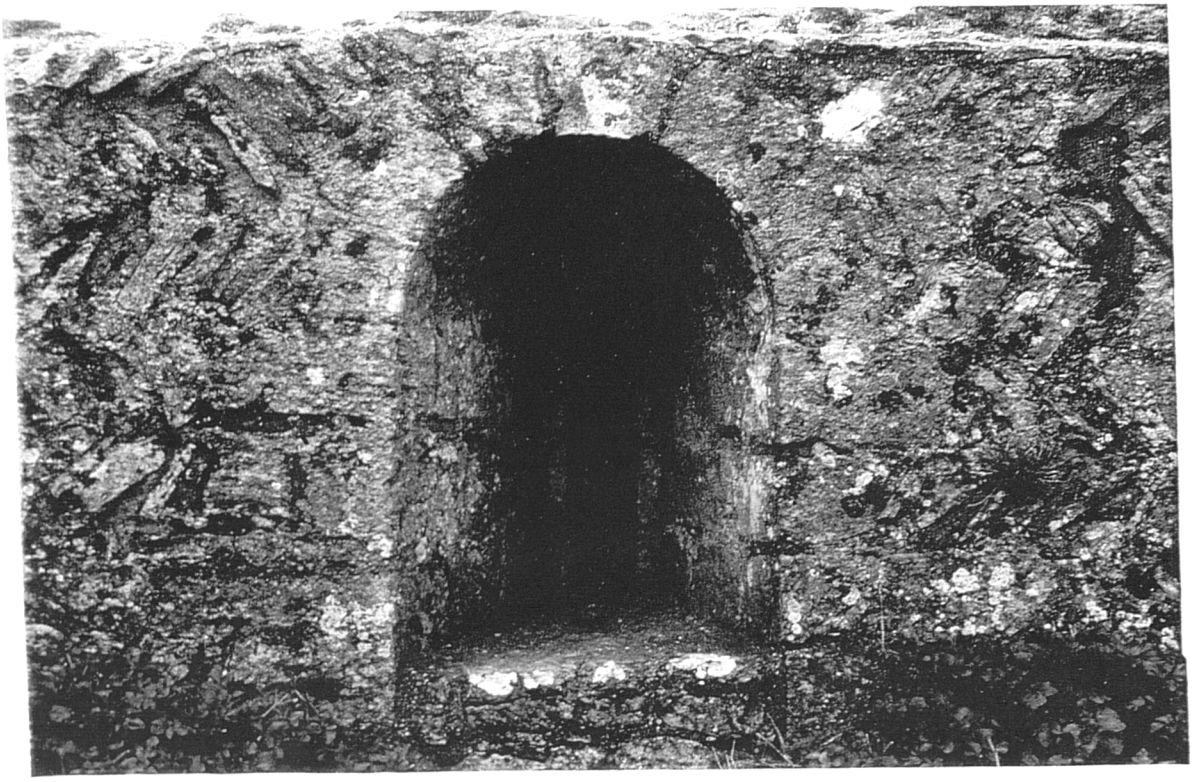


Plate 117. Internal splay of window in the eleventh century hall at Corfe Castle, Dorset

Plate 118. Alcove or blocked opening in the east wall of the eleventh century hall at Corfe Castle, Dorset

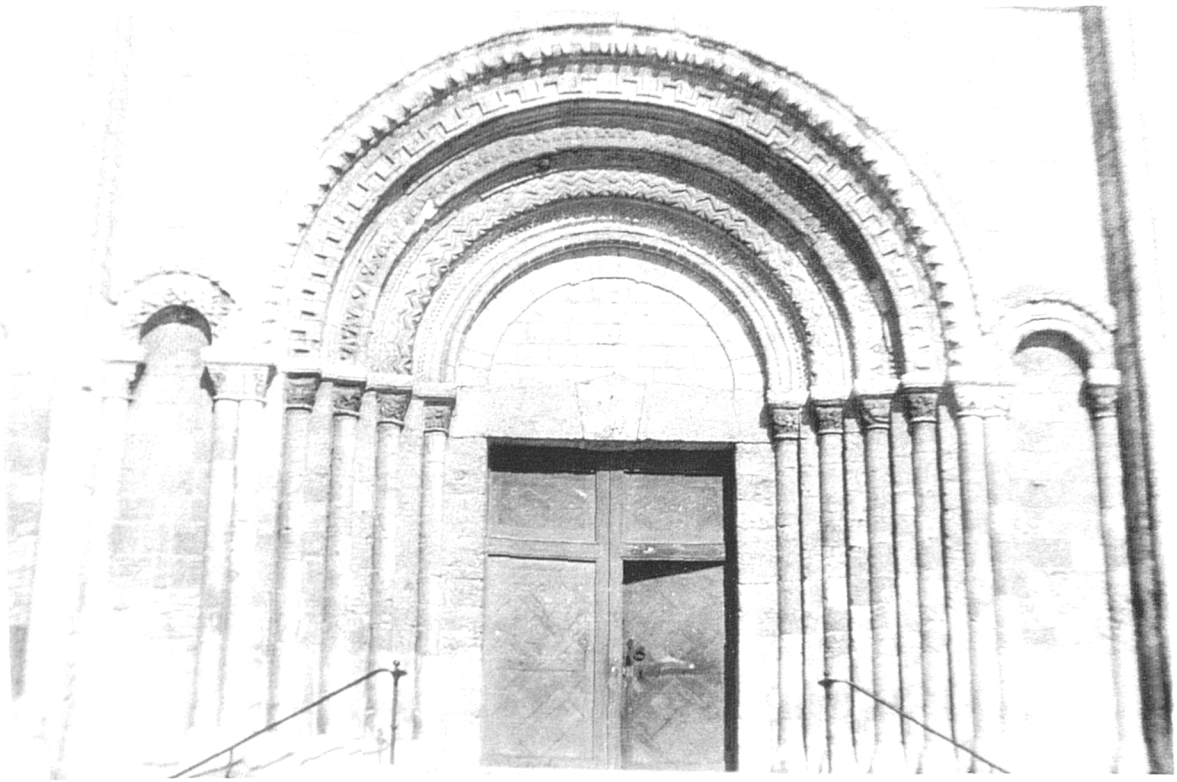


Plate 119. West door of the church at
St. Georges Boscherville, Normandy

Plate 120. Decorative detail of the west door
at St. Georges Boscherville, Normandy

Plate 121. The approach to the twelfth century tower at Castle Hedingham, Essex

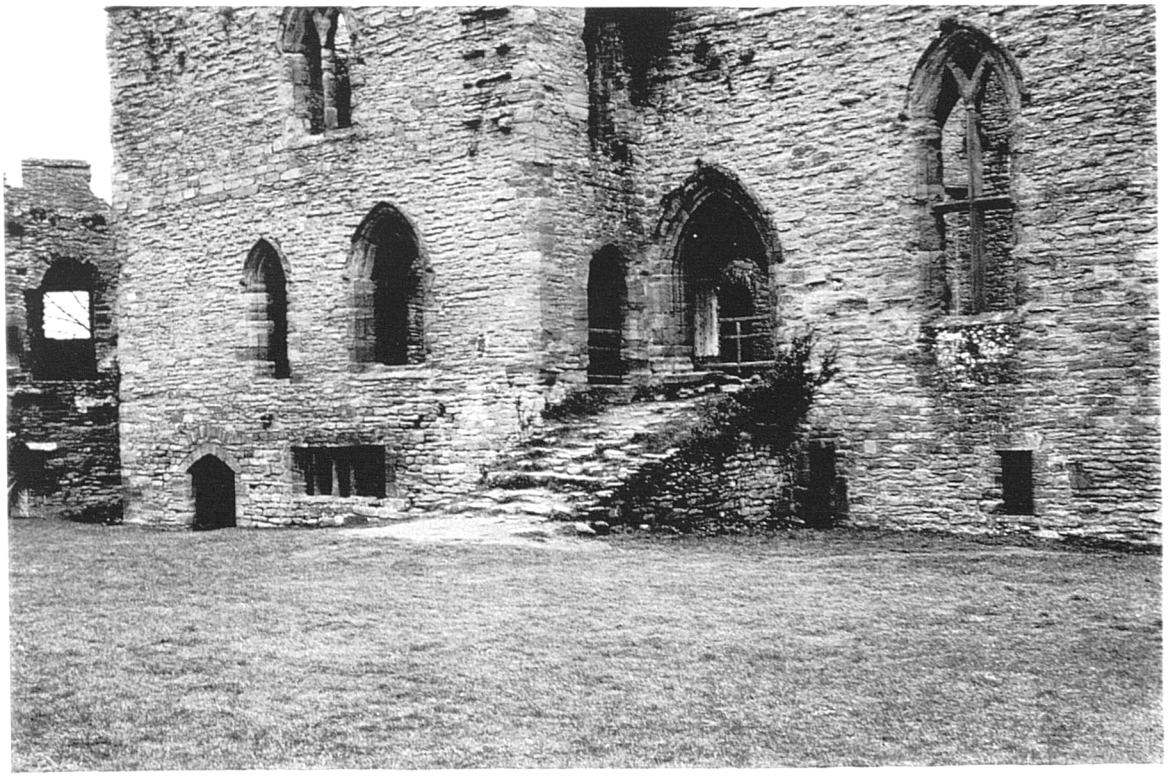


Plate 122. The approach to the thirteenth century hall at Ludlow Castle, Shropshire

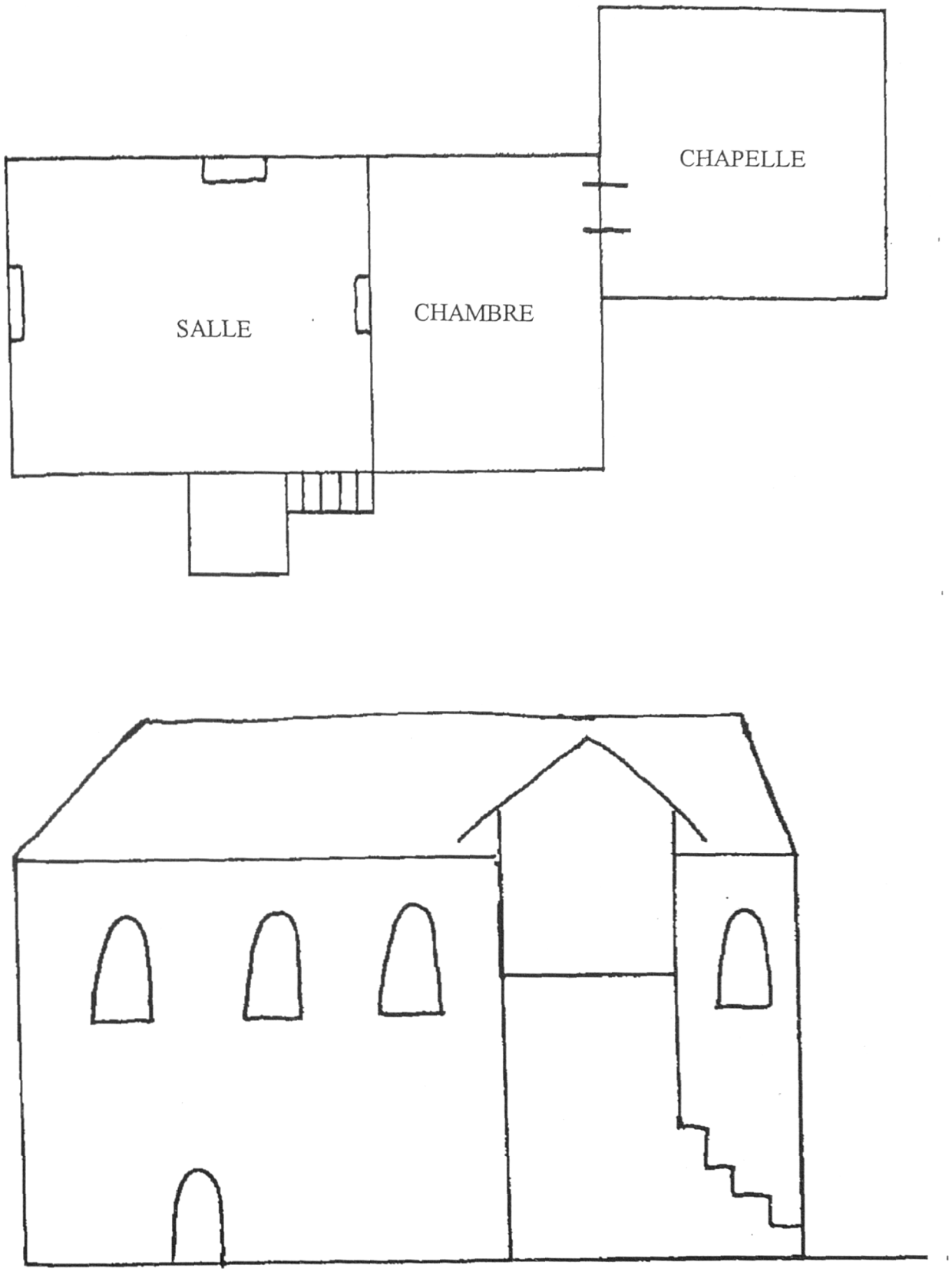


Plate 123. Sketch Plan and elevation of the twelfth century hall at St. Georges Boscherville, Normandy

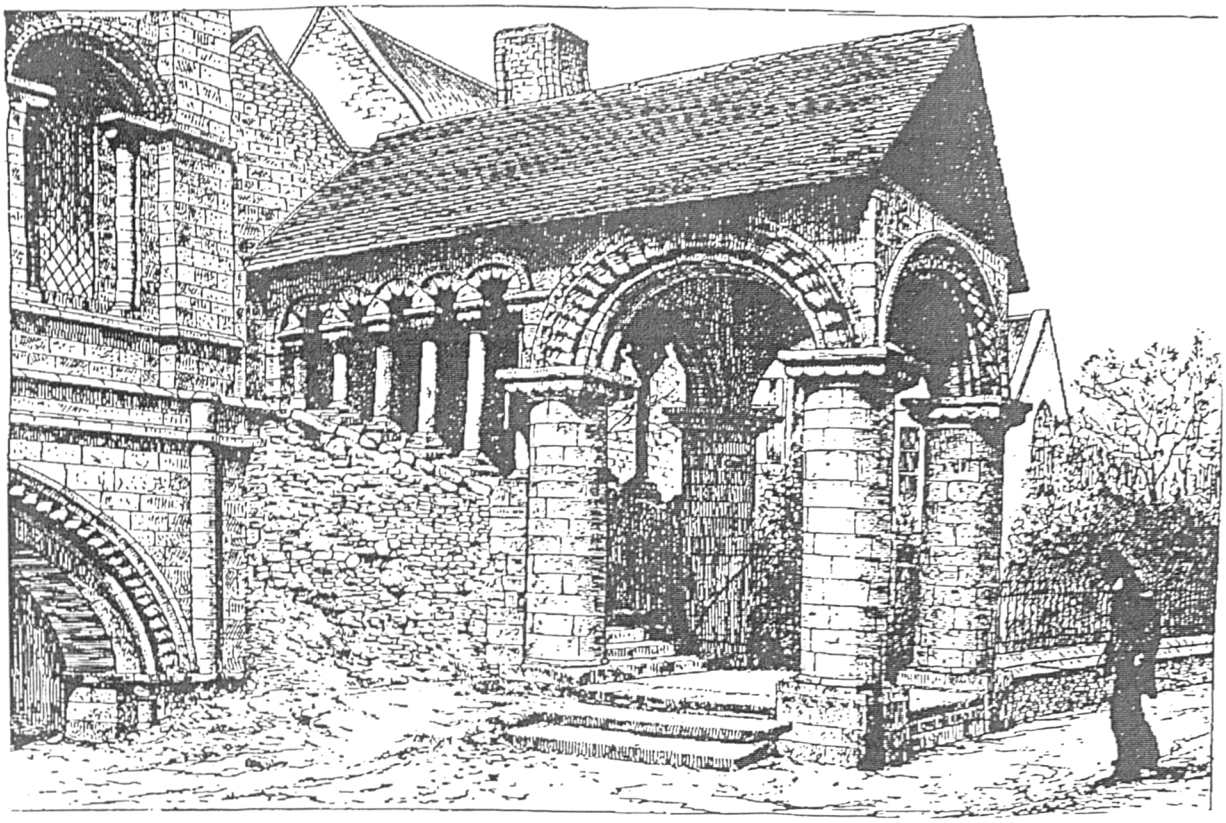


Plate 124. Romanesque door at Canterbury (now destroyed)

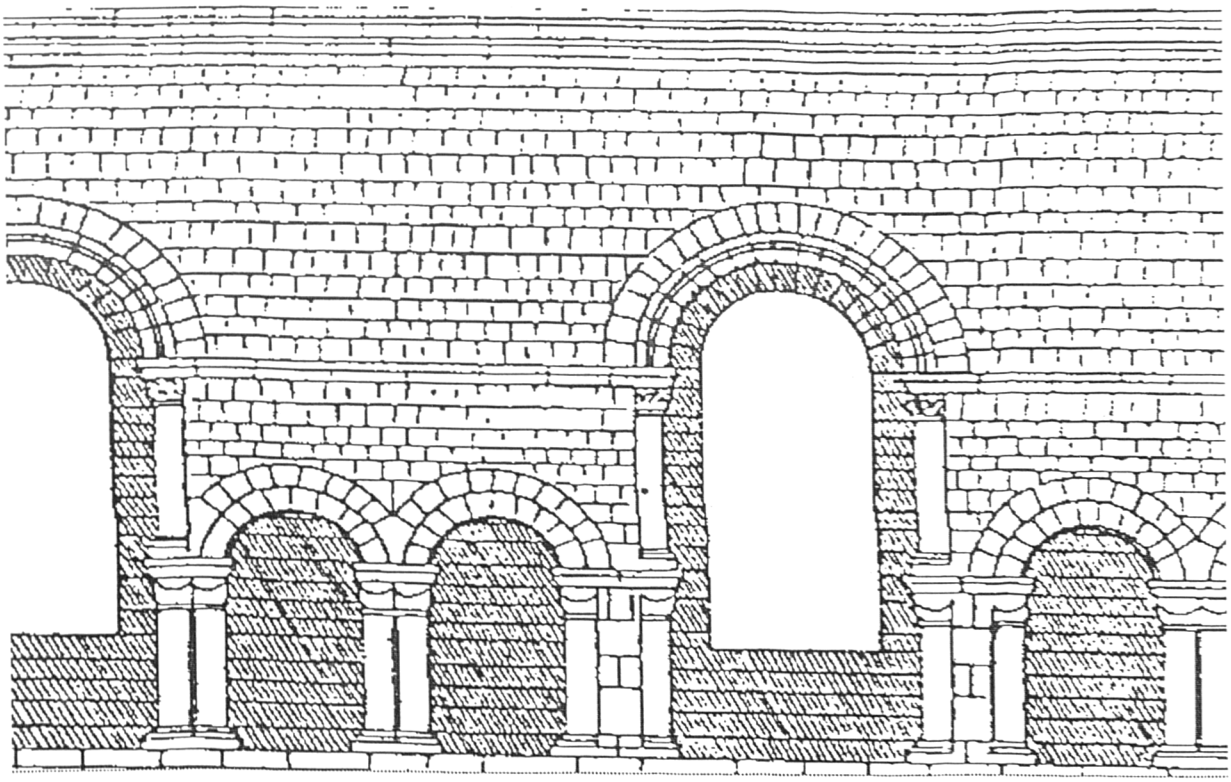


Plate 125. Detail of triplets in Westminster Hall arcade

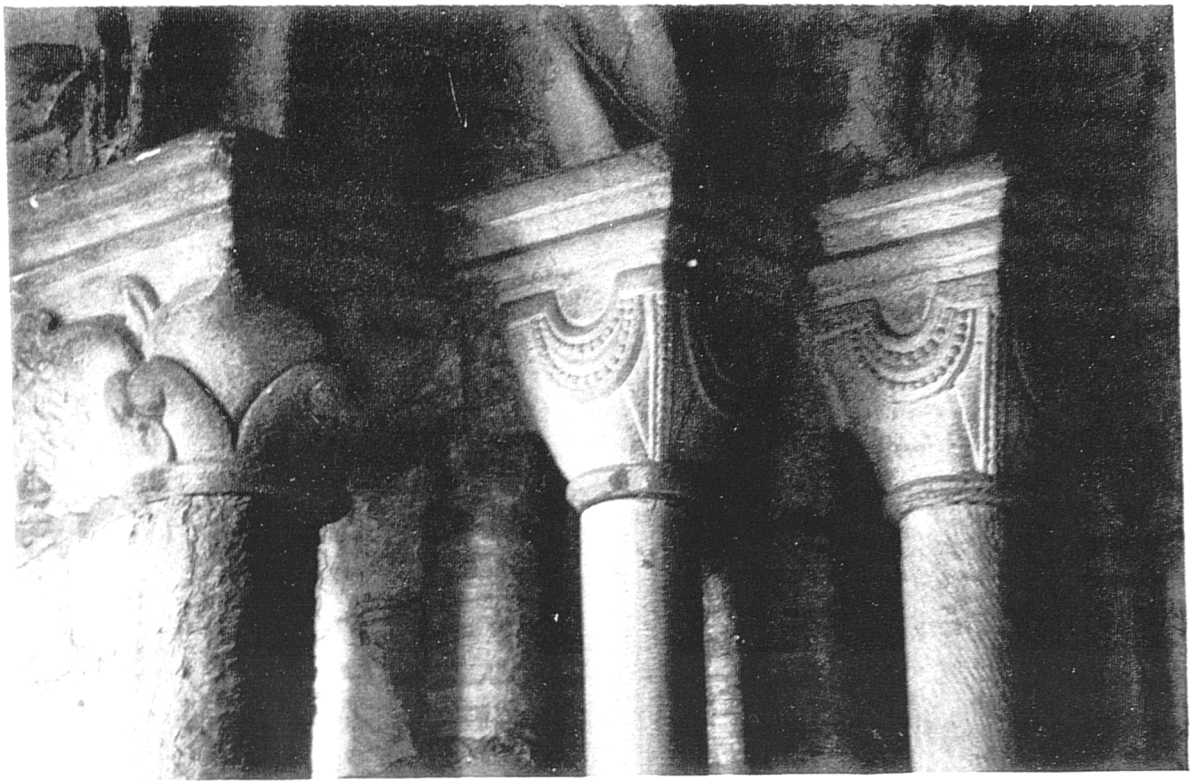


Plate 126. Detail of the 'Prior's Door' in the east lane of the cloisters, Durham Cathedral, showing decoration of capitals

Plate 127. View of the Galilee Chapel, Durham Cathedral, showing columns and capitals

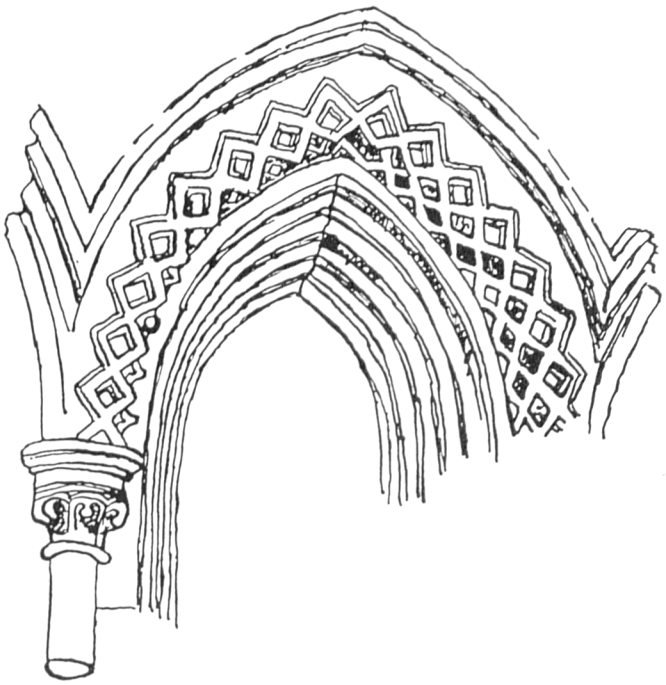


Plate 128. Detail of Darlington church chancel,
showing decoration (after Longstaffe)

Plate 129. Capitals from Darlington (left), and Auckland Castle Chapel (right),
showing du Puiset's late architectural style

Plate 130. Relieving arch on the north-west corner of the Undercroft showing the broken through masonry

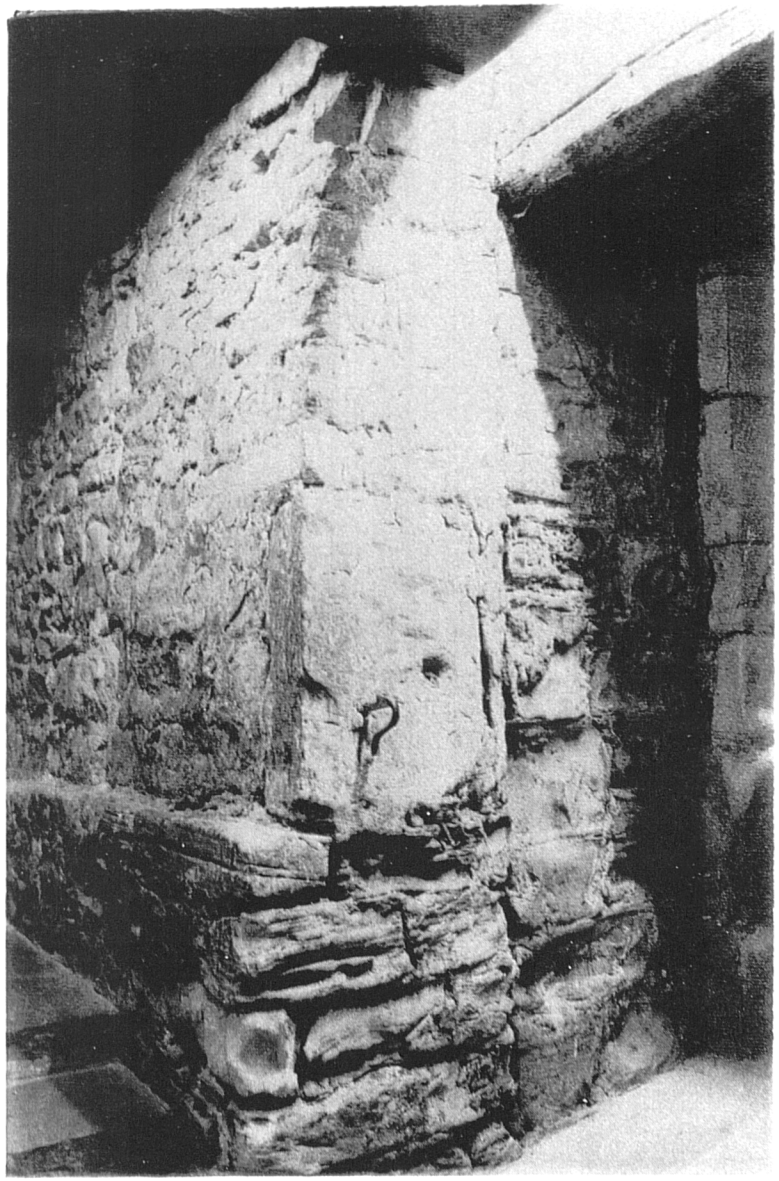


Plate 131. Thickened wall on the east side of the north end of the Undercroft

Plate 132. The approach to the garderobe passage on the north-west corner of the Castle, behind the Black Stairs

Plate 133. Newel stair on the south-west corner of the North Range

Plate 134. The garderobe passage on the north-west corner of the Castle, behind the Black Stairs

Plate 135. Fragment of wall or foundation underlying the north-west corner of the Castle (see Chapter 1, page 23)

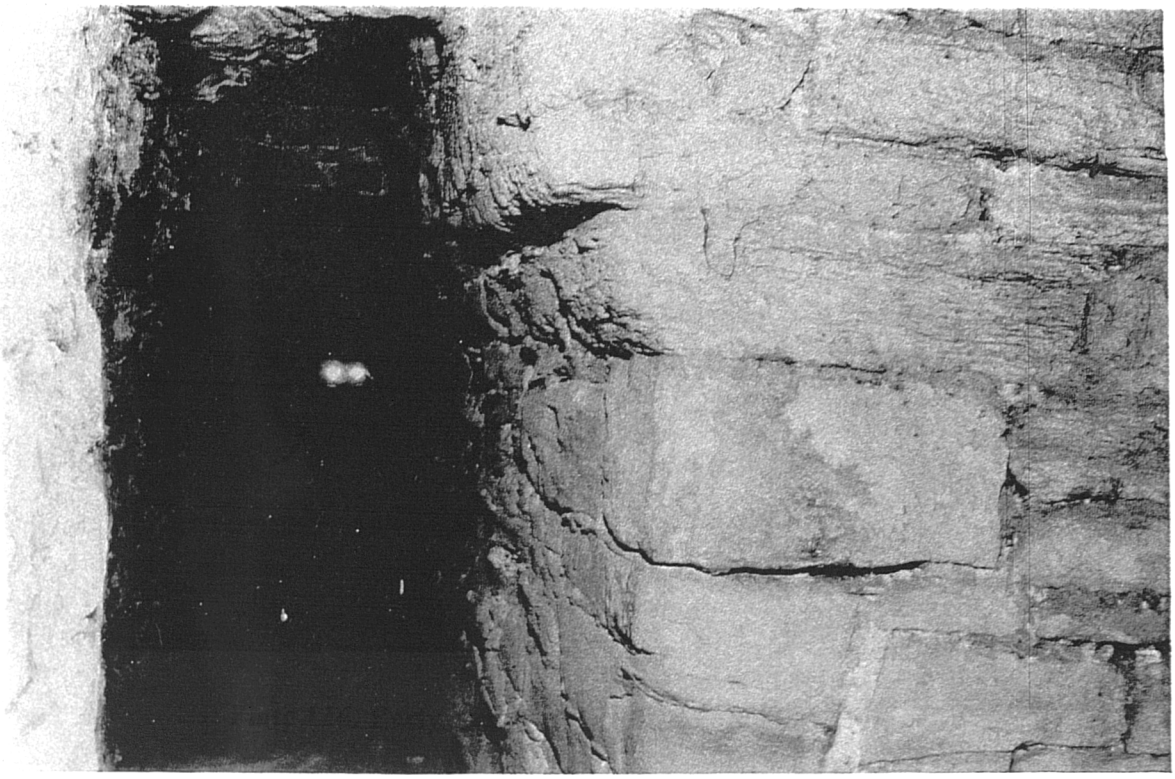


Plate 136. Early string course on wall in garderobe passage

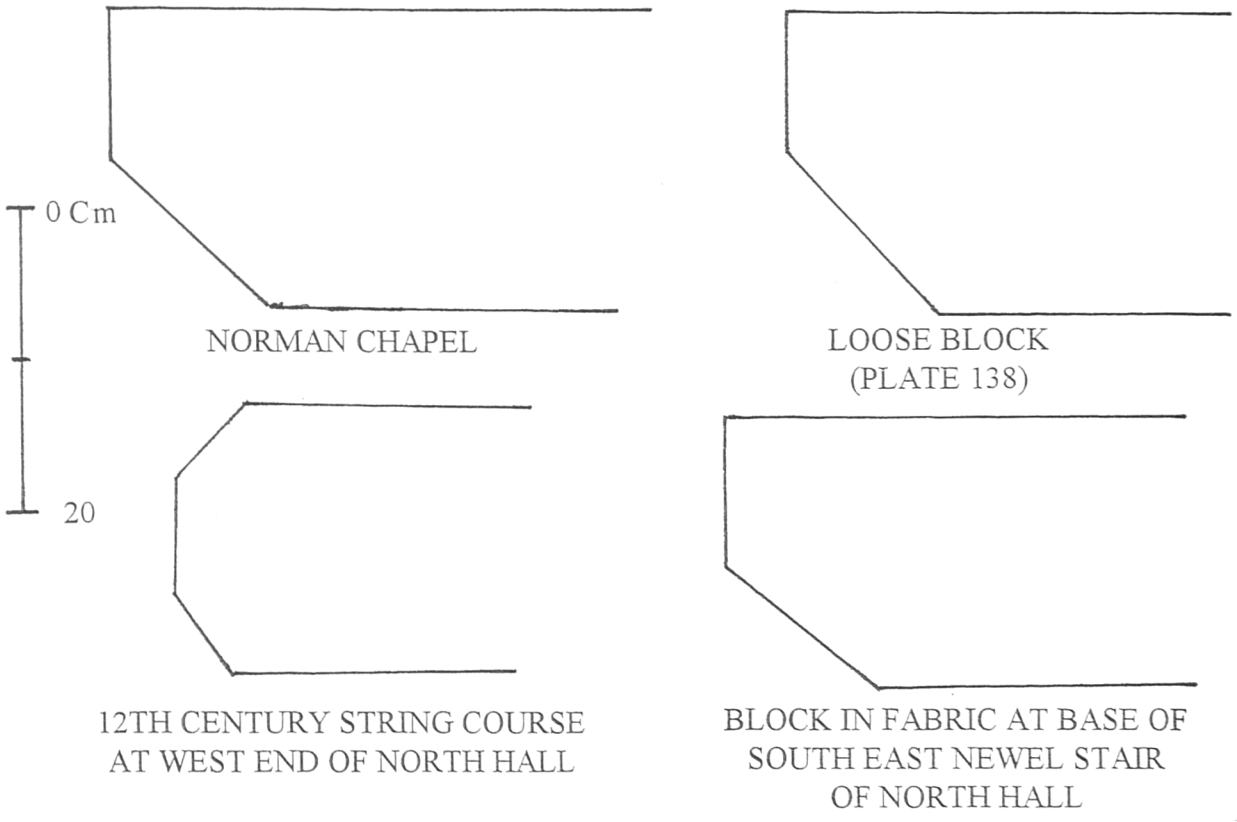


Plate 137. Comparative string course profiles

Plate 138. Loose block from eleventh century string course found to the west of the Norman Chapel, partly sealed by demolition deposits

Plate 139. Fragment of window opening on the north wall of the Norman Gallery, Castle looking north

Plate 140. Blocked exit at the east end of the Chapel Building, Upper floor

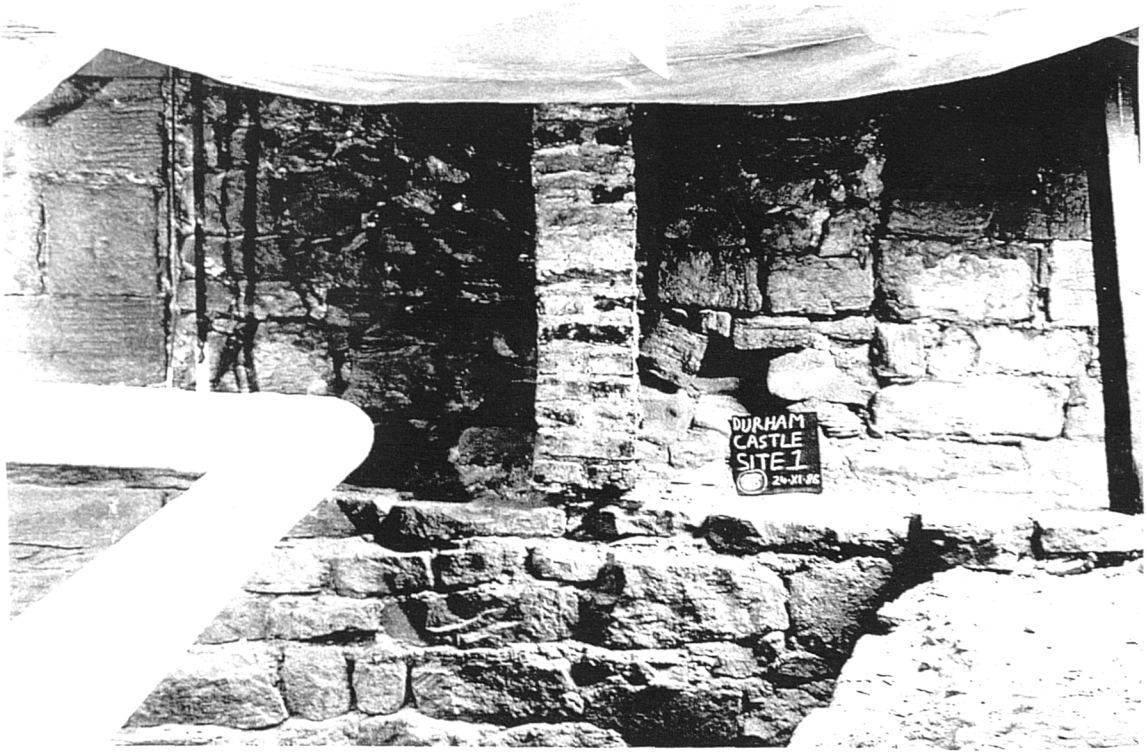


Plate 141. Blocked west door to Upper floor of the
Chapel Building (The floor support is 18th century brick

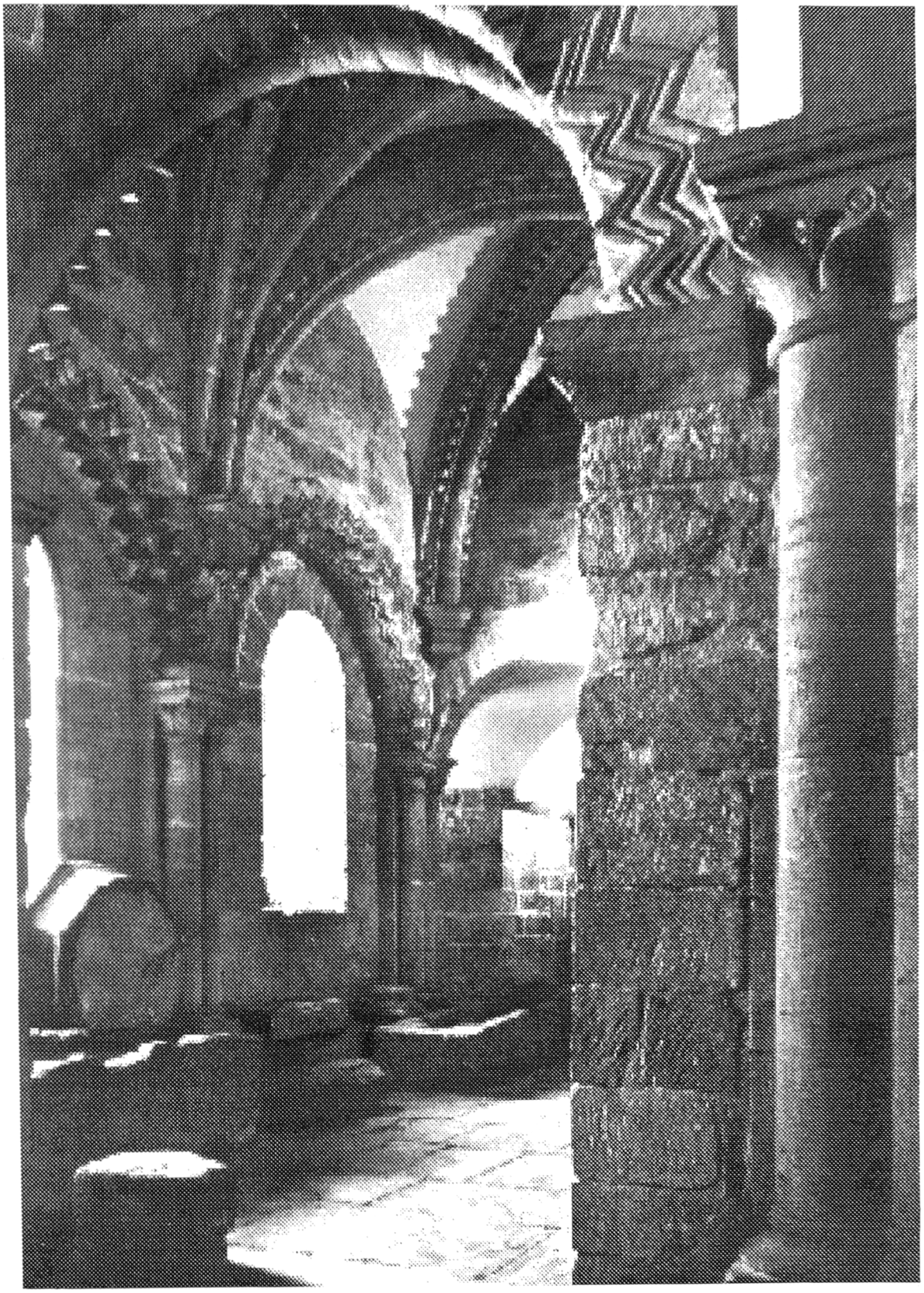


Plate 142. View of Newcastle Castle Chapel, showing decoration

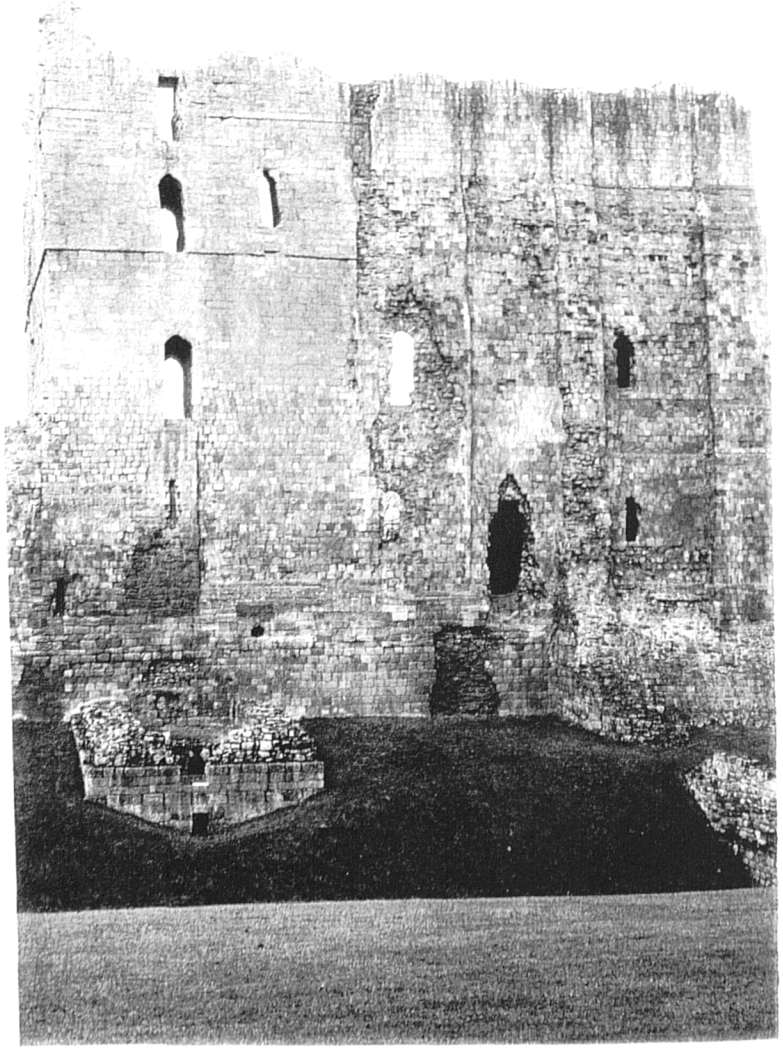


Plate 143. Norham tower, looking north

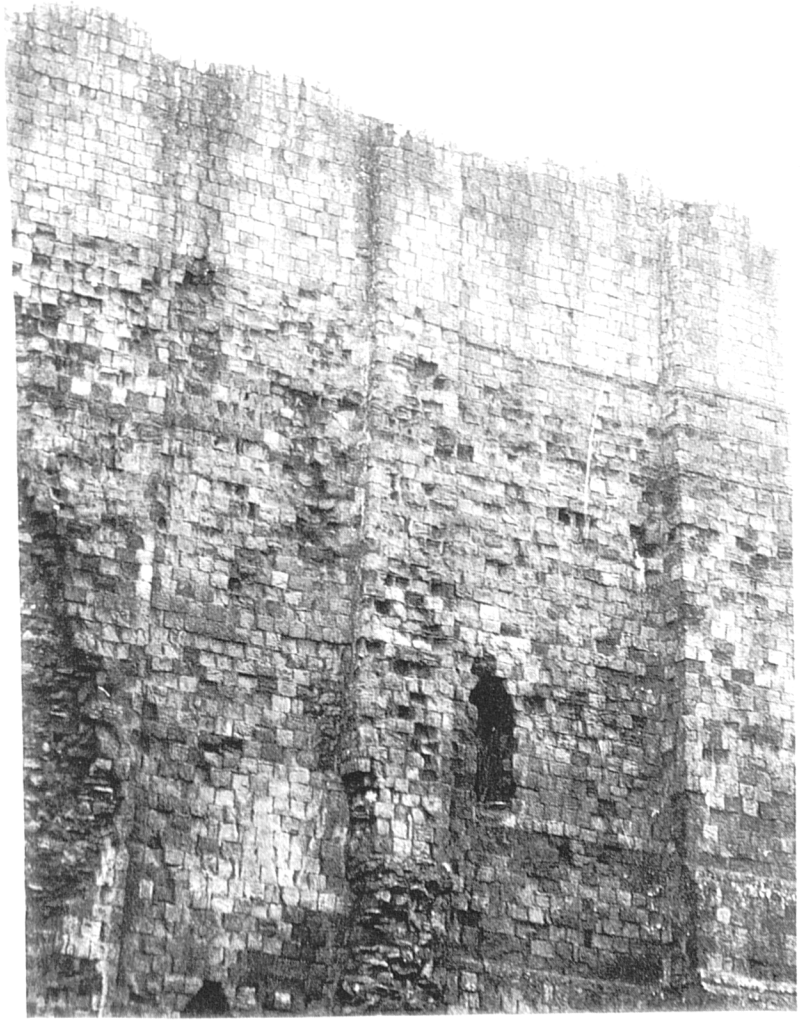


Plate 144. Detail of the twelfth century heightening of Norham tower

Plate 145. East end of Norham tower. Flambard's hall is seen on the left; the roof scar of du Puiset's extension is seen near the top of the picture

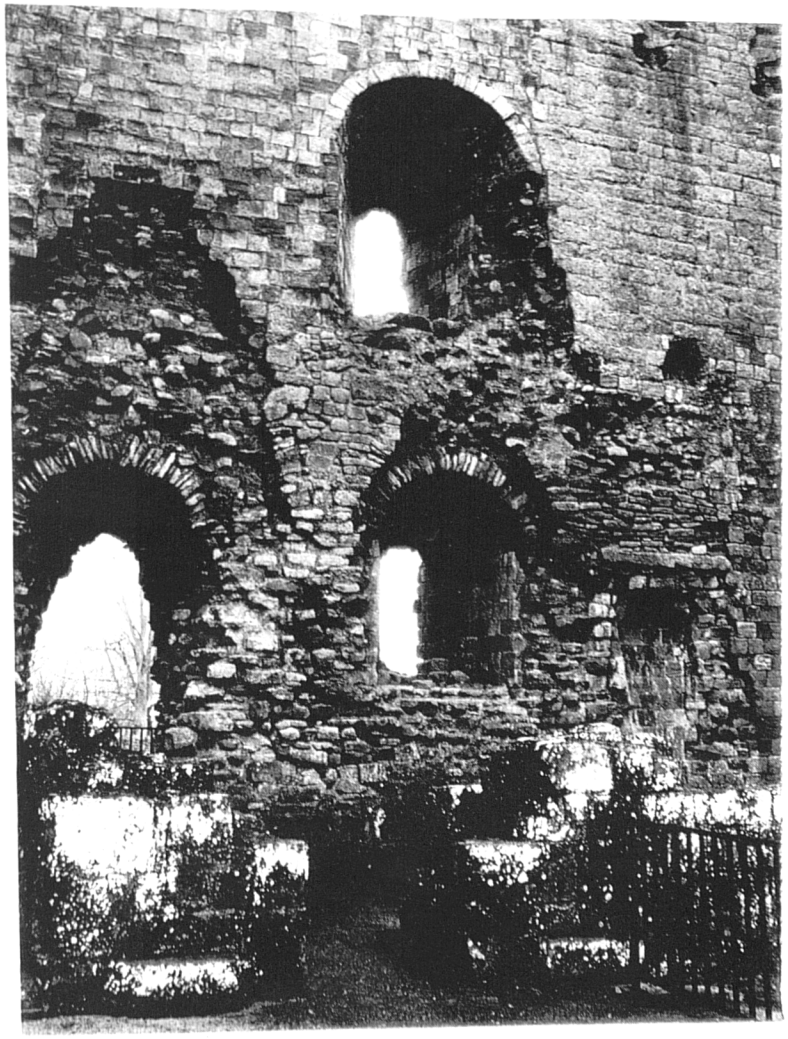


Plate 146. Windows of du Puiset's extension in Norham tower; compare the opening in Plate 19

Plate 147. Norman Chapel, east corbel, south side

Plate 148. Norman Chapel, east corbel, north side

Plate 149. Norman Chapel, south-east capital

Plate 150. Norman Chapel, south-east capital

Plate 151. Norman Chapel, north-east capital, north face

Plate 152. Norman Chapel, north-east capital, east face

Plate 153. Norman Chapel, north-east capital, south face

Plate 154. Norman Chapel, north-east capital, west face

Plate 155. Norman Chapel, north central capital, south face

Plate 156. Norman Chapel, north central capital, east face

Plate 157. Norman Chapel, north central capital, north face

Plate 158. Norman Chapel, north central capital, west face

Plate 159. Norman Chapel, south central capital, north face

Plate 160. Norman Chapel, south central capital, west face

Plate 161. Norman Chapel, south central capital, south face

Plate 162. Norman Chapel, south central capital, east face

Plate 163. Norman Chapel, south-west capital, south face

Plate 164. Norman Chapel, south-west capital, east face

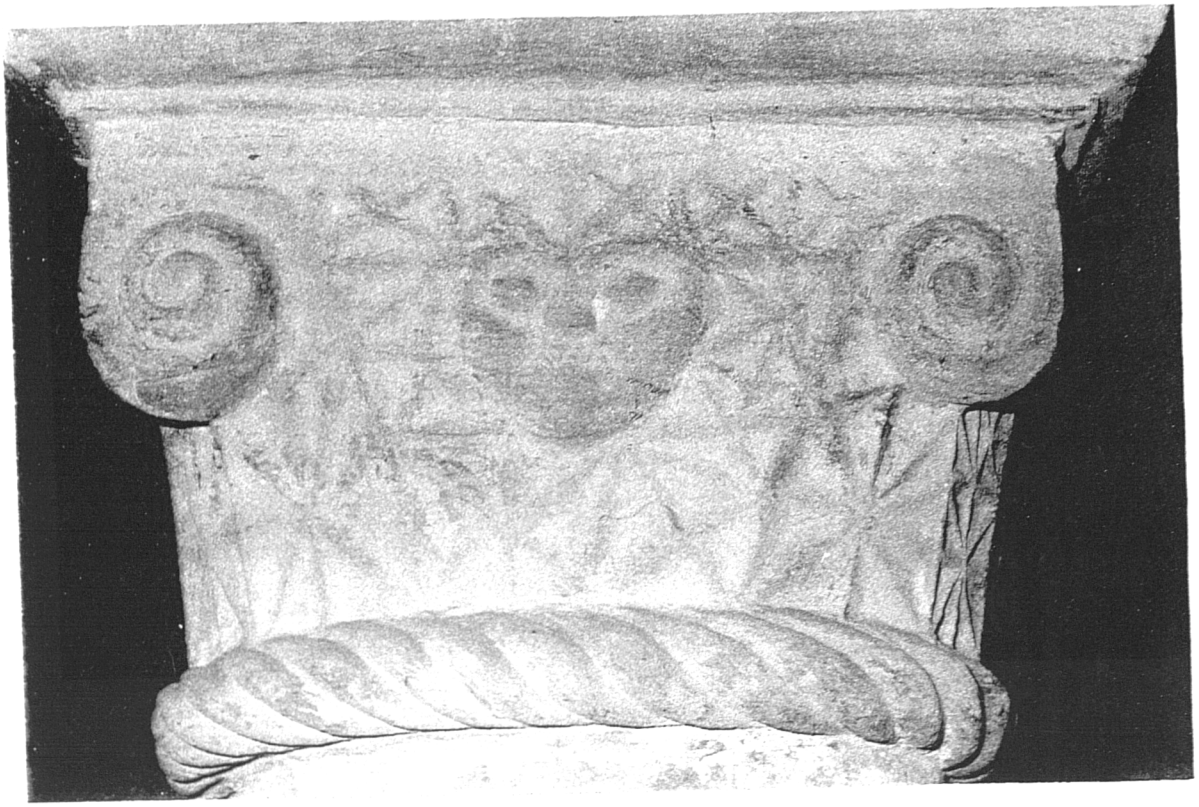


Plate 165. Norman Chapel, south-west capital, north face

Plate 166. Norman Chapel, south-west capital, west face

Plate 167. Norman Chapel, north-west capital, east face

Plate 168. Norman Chapel, north-west capital, south face

Plate 169. Norman Chapel, north-west capital, west face

Plate 170. Norman Chapel, north-west capital, north face

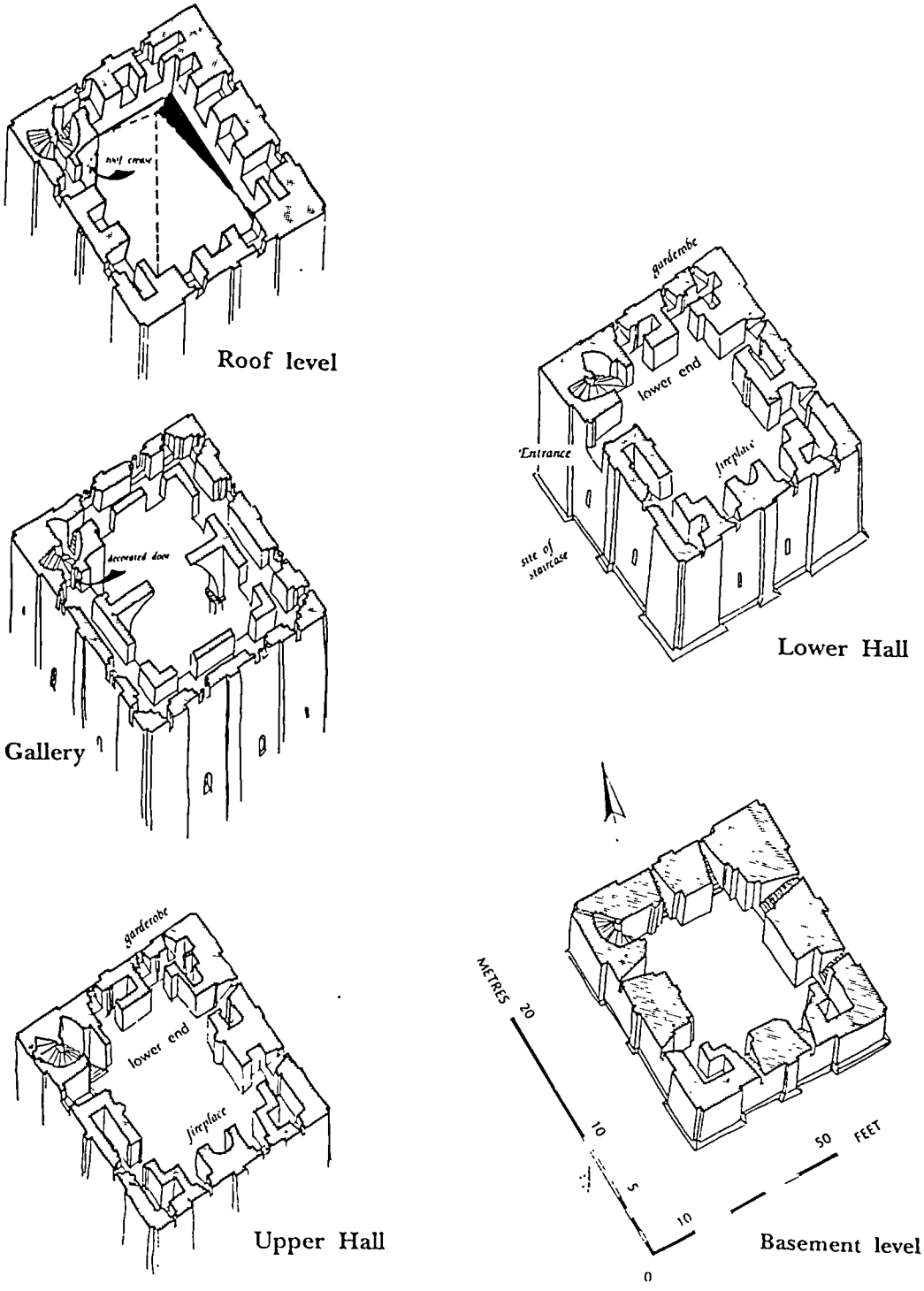


Plate 171. Reconstruction of the various levels of Hedingham Great Tower (Dixon and Marshall 1993)

Plate 172. Early wall, aligned west-north-west, buried in Moat; Moat deposits can be seen in the end section

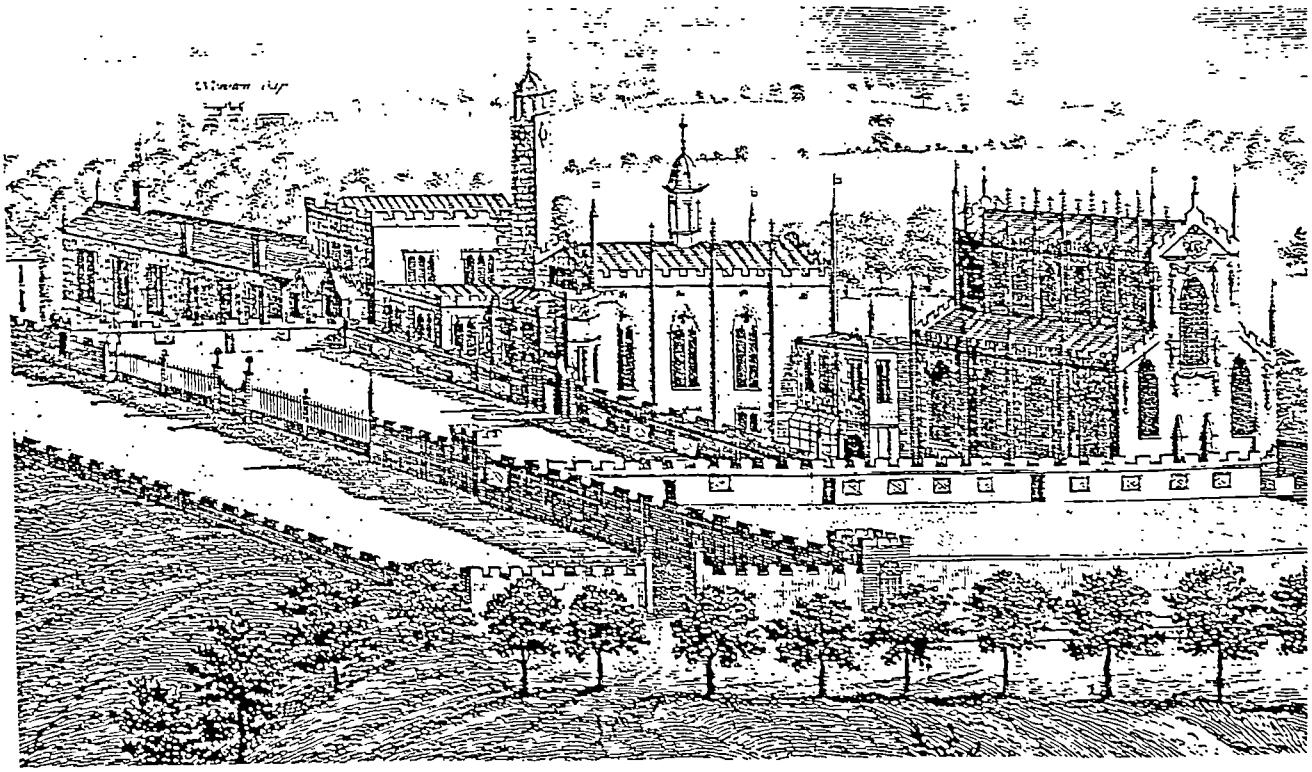


Plate 173. Eighteenth century print of Auckland Castle

APPENDIX K

ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS IN THE BARBICAN OF DURHAM CASTLE

INTRODUCTION

In 1990, under increasing pressure to find new accomodation, the College authorities at Durham Castle took the decision to construct a new office building in the Castle. The site chosen was the open ground between the south wall of the Inner Bailey and the 15th-century Exchequer building (see Plans A & D).

The main trench into which the building was to sit was excavated in 1991, in advance of the start of the construction work which began in 1992. The archaeological excavation of this area (DX 91 C) was undertaken by Northern Archaeological Associates but to date the report has not been published.

Following this main trench there were also to be a number of small works associated with the new building, concerned with the laying of services etc. The present contractor was brought in to oversee these smaller interventions. Each has been located on Plan D to which reference should be made. The full list and description is as follows:

DX 92 A Service trench across the Barbican roadway.

DX 93 B Construction of new doorway in Gatehouse.

DX 93 C 1 Service trenches on west of Barbican linked to DX 92 A.

DX 93 C 2 Service trench on east of Barbican linked to DX 92 A.

DX 93 C 3 Service trench in Master's Garden linked to DX 93 C 2.

DX 93 C 4 Service trench on west side of new building.

DX 93 C 5 Trench to remove wall at south west end of Barbican.

DX 93 C 6 Trench to cut off services on the north west of Gatehouse.

Each site is dealt with in turn, with the exception of the Gatehouse doorway which is discussed first. DX 92 A belongs with the general complex of service trenches in the Barbican area and is discussed there.

While this work was proceeding, a breakdown in the heating system led to a trench being excavated just south of the Castle outer Gate (Plan D). The deposits seen in the section of that trench are similar to those seen in the Barbican and it seems appropriate to discuss that trench (DX 92 B) in this report.

GATEHOUSE REPORT (DX 93 B)

The construction of Durham Castle was begun in 1072 on the orders of William the Conqueror (Symeon 1885, 199-200). The Gatehouse stands at the north end of the Barbican and gives access to the Inner Bailey (Plan A ; Plate 2). Recent archaeological work has strongly suggested that this was not the original approach to the Castle's Inner Bailey but a new entrance constructed between 1099 and 1144 (Appendix L). The building has also been altered by the passage of time. A drawing in the Grimm Collection at the British Library depicts the south side of the Gatehouse in about 1778 (Plate 104). Blocked Romanesque windows are evident, as well as the insertion of later medieval openings. At the end of the 18th century Bishop Barrington called on James Wyatt to "restore" the Gatehouse as part of the Gothic Revival movement (Gee 1928, 69). Wyatt appears to have cased the building in a new skin of stone, altering windows to a more gothic appearance. It is likely that internal details were also altered at this time.

Archaeological attention was called to the site when the builders working on the link between the Gatehouse and the new building situated in the Fellows' Garden began demolishing a brick arch as part of the work. The area affected was in the north-west corner of the western side of the Gatehouse and has been indicated on Plan D. It was discovered that the builders also intended to remove part of the stone wall surrounding the brickwork, preparatory to the insertion of a new square stone lintel above the existing doorway. After consultation with the relevant parties it was felt that archaeological recording was essential before further work took place.

An elevation of the affected area was drawn (Elevation 4) and photographs were taken. A number of mortar samples were also taken to assist in the compilation of the Castle Mortar Index. A colour coded elevation was also prepared to show the different construction materials evident in this small area.

It is notable that the brick arch is semi-circular in form. This, together with the hand-made nature of the bricks and the lime mortar, suggests the 18th century as a construction date. It does not, however, suggest the campaign of James Wyatt who has used Gothic pointed arch forms for all other openings in the building. While brick is also evident on the face of the wall, stone work is present above the level of the arch springers. The facing stones are very worn and irregular in shape and size. In between the larger stones angular fragments and flat slabs have been used. The mortar is an off-white lime mortar with some admixture of coal and grit. This matches well with known medieval mortars elsewhere in the Castle buildings. When the stone had been removed prior to the insertion of the new lintel, it could be seen that the interior of the wall was of randomly sized and shaped stone rubble, with mortar ahering very loosely to some but not all surfaces.

It is not possible to be certain about the dating of a wall purely from the appearance of its fabric. Clearly the stonework pre-dates the insertion of the brickwork i.e. the 18th century. The rough construction strongly suggests an early date while the fine diagonal tooling seen on the largest stone block removed can be paralleled elsewhere in the Castle buildings with the earliest phases: the 11th and 12th centuries. This would suggest that this is a fragment of unaltered stone fabric from the period of the Gatehouse's construction in the first half of the twelfth century. At some time in the 18th century an opening was forced through, the sides of which were rebuilt in brick. The brickwork appears in one or two places to have undergone subsequent repair, while the opening itself was replastered probably at the beginning of the present century.

THE BARBICAN AREA

The Barbican area as it appears at present is the creation of the remodelling of Bishop Cosin (1660-1672; see below) and of James Wyatt for Bishop Barrington (1796-1826) (Gee 1928, 69).

Once the outer defence to the Inner Bailey, it merely serves at present as an approach to the College buildings. Since the walls and outer gate were restored as part of Wyatt's works, the area is devoid of any visible historic features save perhaps the lime trees which may be contemporary with Wyatt's restorations of the Gatehouse.

The present form of the Gatehouse may be attributed to the work of James Wyatt who carried out a comprehensive scheme of restoration on behalf of Bishop Barrington as part of the above mentioned work .

The Victoria County History attributes the destruction of the Barbican and the filling of the moat to Bishop Cosin (1660-1672). This is based on a letter written by the Bishop to his architect, Christopher Scurrey on the 6th of May 1665:-

> The said Christopher Scurrey shall pull downe the wall on the right hand goeing from the Gatehouse of Durham Castle to the Exchequer Building and alsoe to pull downe all the old walls on the left side of the Gatehouse incompassing the Castle Mote garden to Baitman's house, with the two tirrett towers before the said Gatehouse and to ridd and make foundation for new walls before the said Castle Gates...
>
> ....And the said Christopher Scurrey to cast all the rubbish, loose earth and metall which shall be occasioned by the said worke to help fill up the hollow of the ground to levell the passage between the Gate house and the Exchequer..."(Cosin 1872, 379)

The first paragraph seems to say fairly clearly that Cosin cleared the Barbican area, and contemporary visual evidence would suggest that he may have been responsible for the

present form of the approach and the Master's Garden. The stonework in those areas appears to have been renewed later, perhaps when Wyatt remodelled the Gatehouse.

DX 92 A

In 1992, in advance of construction, a service trench was dug across the Barbican roadway to provide a water supply to the new building. The excavation of this trench was carried out by workmen but was archaeologically overseen. Little time was allowed for recording but record photographs were taken and the section examined (Elevation 3). This section showed service trenches more or less aligned with the roadway, cut through stratified roadway deposits. The base of the trench was a uniform layer of rubble and mortar which might well correspond with the demolition deposits that would arise from Bishop Cosin's work in the seventeenth century. It could also be seen that the line of the kerb to the roadway, presumably originally laid by Wyatt, corresponded exactly with the original kerb of Bishop Cosin's time.

DX 92 B

A breakdown in the peninsula heating system in the early part of 1992 led to a repair trench being dug just outside the Castle's Outer Gateway. The archaeologist was not called in until after the trench had been dug but the section was examined. The section was very similar to that seen in DX 92 A and a schematic sketch is on Elevation 3.

DX 93 C1, 2, AND 3

In 1993 service trenches were dug on the east and west sides of the Barbican linking with the pipe previously laid in 1992 (DX 92 A).

The trenches on the west side, numbered C 1, showed an homogeneous fill of dark loam containing very few archaeological finds in it. It gave the impression of being a vast dump of soil brought in at some point to provide a base for the lawn on that side.

The trench on the east side, numbered C 2, was very different. Here a sticky soil underlay the lawn and overlay a lighter soil which was rich in pottery and bone. This in turn overlay the "demolition deposit" seen in the section of DX 92 A. The two lawns certainly exhibit very different behaviour and this seems to reflect the underlying material. At the east end of this trench where it abuts the present Barbican wall, a chamber was dug for the insertion of an inspection hatch. This went deeper than the rest of the length and the workmen struck and partly damaged a length of stonework (Plate 5). This proved to be the east side of a massive wall with facing blocks to the east and a rubble core. This is typical of the early construction and it is not unreasonable to suppose that this is a part of the original Barbican wall which Cosin had demolished. the fragment occupied the full width of the trench (about .7m) and was .4m from the face to the west side of the chamber. The west face was not seen and it is not possible to speculate about the full width of the wall.

The different treatment of the two sides is not reflected in the historical material. As indicated above, the two lawns and the lime trees were part of Wyatt's works. There seems no particular reason why the west side should be dug out and relaid in this way.

The trench on the east side was continued on the east side of the Barbican wall into the area known as the Master's Garden. This extension contained slightly different deposits from those in the trench on the west side of the wall and was given the number C 3 (see Plan D). Also recovered from the spoil of this trench was a quantity of plaster similar to material previously recovered from a trench in the Castle Courtyard (DX 91 A). Some of the pieces from C 3 were also painted, including one handsome bi-coloured fragment with a plant design. This sort of material, probably dating to the 11th and 12th centuries, once again suggests the quality of the work in the early Castle.

DX 93 C 4

This number was allocated to a service trench on the west side of the new building, providing drainage. The trench was entirely dug by workmen and a sample of the pottery was saved from the upthrown spoil. As far as could be seen in section, this trench was cut entirely within the upper fills of the moat and the pottery recovered, mainly dating to the later 14th and 15th centuries, probably reflects this.

DX 93 C 5

On entering the Castle one morning in June, the author found that the workmen had made a shallow cut at the southern end of the Barbican on the west side. This was to facilitate the laying of a flagged path to a new doorway cut in the west Barbican wall which acted as an emergency exit to the new building. This cut had removed the short angled wall which can be seen on Plan D at this point. This wall is certainly part of the Barbican refurbishment of Wyatt in the nineteenth century.

DX 93 C 6

During the work on the stairs leading from the west side of the Gate house down to the new building, a pipe was discovered, running off to the north i.e. into the courtyard area. It was felt by the architect to be expedient to cut this service off, whatever it might be. Accordingly, a trench was excavated on the north west side of the Gatehouse by the workmen and the archaeologist was allowed to inspect the trench after they had cut off the pipe (Plan F).

A large stone foundation was observed, with faced blocks on the north side and a rubble core. This had been damaged by the laying of the pipe in the past and also by the workmen excavating the present trench. Its position and east-west alignment suggest that it is the original foundation for the south curtain wall. This was demolished in the seventeenth century by Bishop Cosin's architect Christopher Scurrey. Although the letter referring to the work told the architect to make "new foundations" it is clear that he used the older wall as foundation for the new.

APPENDIX L

Durham Castle Courtyard, 1991

(DC91A)

EXCAVATION NOTES

The original trench was excavated by workmen from the Estates and Buildings Department of the University. The Castle's heating system had been malfunctioning and the fault had been traced to an apparent break in the pipe. The pipe was buried in a trench below the court yard and the fault seemed to be connected with an expansion loop in the pipe duct and this was accordingly excavated.

By the time it had been brought to archaeological attention, the trench had been excavated to the level of a concrete platform supporting the expansion loop itself. It was claimed that only the 1947 backfill had been removed by the workmen. An examination of the loose spoil from the trench, however, yielded a wealth of archaeological material. It was clear that not all of this material had been backfilled in the 1940's since there was clear separation in date between material recovered from the two sides of the spoil heap with an increasingly earlier date on the material recovered from towards the west side.

The decision was taken to construct a new brick chamber around the expansion loop. This entailed widening the trench by about 30 cm or so to take the new width of brickwork. This thin column of deposits which were on the north side, and clearly *in situ* archaeological deposits, was excavated stratigraphically. This yielded a good sequence of courtyard and associated deposits and provided some otherwise rare dating material from the Castle's Inner Bailey.

Approximately 18 cm of tarmac and aggregate were removed from the strip which measured 40 cm in width. The latest surviving courtyard surface under this was that of a hard compacted coarse orange gravel. On the eastern side of the trench it was cut

by a posthole suggesting that structures were present in the courtyard until quite recently in the Castle's history. Material recovered from this layer suggested a date in the mid-nineteenth century.

A succession of courtyard surfaces lay beneath, with accompanying lenses and thinner deposits which probably represent patching and repairs.

A thick level of sand and rubble and sand (Elevation 20) divided the upper courtyard surfaces from the lower. The are two main differences to note.
Firstly, below these layers, a division is seen in the north section of the trench. The western half displayed a sequence of courtyard surface and infill dumps or levelling. The eastern half had infill deposits at the top over a robber trench which occupied the greater part of the section depth.

There is also a break in the chronological dating. The provisional pottery report attached to the end of this appendix shows this. Material from above the levels of sand rubble did not on the whole, return an earlier date than the seventeenth Century. Below, deposits yielded a bulk of fourteenth Century material with earlier pieces mixed in. The levelling layers themselves were very clean and homogenous - there was just a scrap of pottery recovered from the sand layer, nothing at all from the other levelling layers.

The eastern side of the section will be dealt with first. The top layers consisted of interleaved dumps of gravels and loams filling a dip over the top of the robber trench below. Clearly these represent a levelling up over the trench which must have slumped over time, leaving such a dip.

The rest of this side, (about 1.3m in depth), is occupied by the robber trench itself. From the plan it can be seen that this trench represents the robbing of wall 46. It was not possible to completely excavate this trench fill. It was excavated to a depth of 62.40m above O.D. Beyond this, because of the narrowness of the strip and the proximity of the concrete platform, it was not physically possible to go. It was clear, however, that the trench did continue and probing with a thin metal spike suggested

that the trench contained about another 30cm of spoil, at least, with archaeological deposits still continuing below that.

The fill of the trench consisted almost exclusively of fragments of mortar, plaster and sandstone. On closer examination about 10% of the fragments still retained a surface. Most of these bore only plain white paint but a small number of pieces retained traces of black and red painting. This was in the typical geometrical style of Romanesque painting and can be presumed to have come from a wall painted with these simple designs. Two pieces showed that the wall had been painted at least twice in its life.

The west side of the section was more complex in its sequence. Below the levelling layers of sand and rubble was a sequence of courtyard surface composed of various materials such as sand, gravel , soil, and ash (Elevation 20).

Surface 24 came off a dull yellow sand surface which had two dark oval features in its surface. When excavated these were suggestive of the holes left by animal hoof prints. Adjacent to these on the eastern side of them and immediately adjacent and west of the wall trench was a small trench like feature filled with mixed deposits of silts and sands. Given its proximity to the building this probably represents the wet area caused by the dripping from the eaves of the building and therefore suggests that the building was still standing in the fourteenth Century.

The layers below this point were slightly problematical. Some of them at first sight seemed to be slightly dipping layers of the same thickness and consistency of the courtyard surfaces above. Others, however, were clearly not of this nature and suggested dumps or pit fills. The pottery recovered from these levels was of progressively earlier material as excavation went down, thirteenth century pottery was recovered from the lowest layers (se below).

At the base of the section it appeared that the last two visible layers were courtyard surfaces again with 50 being the surface and 49 a patch on that surface. Very early material, perhaps late thirteenth century in date, was recovered from this

level but it was not possible to proceed further because the concrete platform supporting the heating pipes physically impeded progress.

The south side of the trench was not excavated as such - merely cleaned since no virgin material was to be removed in the wake of the new construction.

In the southeast corner of the trench, a short length of wall was cleaned (Plates 85 and 86; Elevation 21). This was of fine construction with extremely high quality dressed blocks. Only about two courses could be seen - below the concrete platform was difficult to clean or obtain access to. The wall may go deeper - certainly no foundations or offset plinth were observed.

On the west side of this wall and immediately adjacent to it was a feature constructed of stone rubble. This had been very badly damaged by the insertion of the heating trench. It was not possible to ascertain its original shape or how it had been originally faced. It disappeared into the south section but as far as could be judged on the material surviving in the trench it abutted rather than bonded with the ashlar wall.

On both the west and east sides of the trench, immediately above the wall, and the rubble built feature, there was a clear discontinuity with the courtyard surfaces seen on the north side. The later surfaces were present from the Late Medieval levelling of sand and rubble but below this on the south side and above the rubble feature, the sequence had been interrupted by demolition layers.

APPENDIX M

INVESTIGATION OF THE LOW TOWER, DURHAM CASTLE

In the summer of 1993 University College, Durham built new office accommodation in the area known as the Fellows' Garden (Plan A). When the transfer into the new building had taken place, the long awaited conversion of the Garden building to student accommodation began. This mainly involved the partitioning of existing rooms and little actual fabric was disturbed.

Garden Stairs, in which the old officed had been housed, is a building on the south curtain wall of Durham Castle. A low tower, believed to be of eleventh century date, attachs to it on the south-west corner and it partly adjoins the Kitchen Tower on its north side (Plan A).

The history of the Garden Stairs building is relatively unknown. Clack ascribes its origin to Bishop Bek (1284 - 1311) but gives no authority for this (1985, 50). The front wall of the building has evidently be refaced. Bishop Cosin's coat of arms now prominently adorn the refaced wall and it was probably during his episcopate that the refacing took place. It has been suggested that the building incorporates the remains of the original eleventh century entrance to the castle.

The workmen's conversion was carried out under archaeological supervision. No walls were exposed to the original stonework but a number of ancient wooden beams were uncovered in the process of pipe and cable laying. The largest of these timbers was seen on the second floor in the western room on the south side, beneath the present window. At this point the floor levels under the south part of the room were about .5m lower than the northern two thirds. A large timber was observed in the south area. The beam was thought to be structural, measuring about .5m across. Its age could not be determined but given the rotten state of most other woodwork in the building, it is unlikely to be very ancient.

Most of the other timbers in the building were affected by rot and few timbers were completely intact. Most of the floor joists appeared to have been relaid fairly recently - within the last 100 years.

Only one timber was seen in a vertical position. This was on the north side of the entrance to the Low Tower. Not enough of the timber was exposed, however, to ascertain its function.

THE LOW TOWER

This structure attaches to the west side of the Garden Stairs building. It is on the south curtain wall and it is assumed from its thick walls that it belongs to the early period of construction in the castle, i.e. not later than the twelfth century.. The present windows are rectangular with single mullions and hood moulds. This echoes the style used else where in the castle building by Bishops Tunstall (1530 - 1559) and Cosin (1660 - 1672). It is probable that these windows were renewed at the same time that the east front of the building was refaced.

It has been known since the turn of the century that a significant viod existed under the floor of the room in this tower. This void is shown in the large version of the castle plan by Jones in 1904, although it is generally missing from the smaller reductions. His plan shows a rectangular space connecting with the outside of the tower by means of a an opening in the west wall. Since the work of conversion would mean removal of the floorboards over this space, the work was archaeologically monitored.

Jones plan gave little clue as to the nature of this space i.e. how deep; construction; openings. It had be assumed before the examination in the summer of 1993 to be a garderobe shaft.

Investigation revealed an oblong shaft measuring 2.3 - 2.5 metres by 1.52 - 1.55 metres in plan. It was approximately 5.4 metres deep on the east side and about 5.65 metres deep on the south side. There had evidently been slippage of the masonry

here as at many other places in the castle and the shaft is distorted in shape and the angles are no longer square.

There was .3 - .4 metres of soft material in the base of the shaft. This consisted of interleaved layers of sand with varying amounts of what appeared to be post-fire clearance material, i.e. rubble, burnt stone, charcoal, and charred wood. The floor joists across the top of the shaft were also charred and burnt. Pottery from the fill dated to the seventeenth century and this may also be the date of the destruction. There is no record of a fire in the days of Bishop Cosin (1660 - 1672) but much of his household record has perished (see chapter 3). From the large coat of arms placed on the front of this building it is assumed that Bishop was responsible for the refacing and general refurbishment of the structure. A fire might well have been the prompt for this work.

The shaft was otherwise well constructed with a flat bottom made of irregular large blocks of sandstone piled into a hole and covered with mortar. The walls were then constructed using this sandstone pile both as a floor and a foundation. There was no exit from the base of the shaft - the present irregular hole on the east side was broken through in the nineteenth century to allow a waste pipe from the bathroom to exit to the outside drain. No traces of an organic deposit were found.

In respect of this evidence it is hard to see how this shaft functioned efficiently as a garderobe. A more reasonable suggestion would be that it was an oubliette (French: *oublier* - to forget). That is a shaft into which prisoners were placed for periods of solitary confinement or starvation. This small tower may have functioned as a prison tower or guard tower and this may have implications for the location of the early gate.

It should be noted that the shaft occupies about half of the tower's dimensions. Although part of the eastern half of the tower was seen, it appeared to be full of rubble, the fill quite solid to probes. It seems unlikely that such an amount of tower - 5 x 5 x 6-7 metres would be solid masonry and it may be that a similar shaft on the eastern side of the tower has been previously filled in. No external openings or exits to

either half of the tower are visible, with the exception of the bathroom waste pipe mentioned above.

APPENDIX N

INVESTIGATION OF THE NORMAN CHAPEL

The subject of this paper is a discussion of the archaeological context of the chapel, known as the Norman chapel,in the Castle of Durham, in the light of a new study. This study includes drawings of the chapel walls, a new plan of the floor, and also an examination of the features to the west of the chapel, not hitherto investigated but known since the conservation work of the Thirties.

Whilst studying as an undergraduate I worked as a guide giving Castle Tours and my interest in the chapel arose therefrom. I saw that it would provide a suitable dissertation subject and that also the study would provide local archive material from an area of the Castle, not normally accessible and little studied. Dr Cambridge had informed me of the existence of the features under the Senate Ante-room floor and thus I decided to combine a study of the chapel with an archaeological investigation of these features.

This Appendix summarises the work, a full description of which can be found in Leyland 1987.

Methodology

I examined the documentary sources and also some of the later historians (discussed in this work, Chapter 2). I discussed the drawing by Grimm in 1778 (Plate 106). His statement that he entered 'through a cellar' was probably a reference to the present TV room. I noted the remodelling of the Chapel area by the University in the 1840's and the making of the present passage of access to the Chapel. Gee had stated:

> The late Mr W. Parker, for many years clerk of the works to the Chapter, stated that he remembered working at the tunnel as a boy and that when the chapel was entered, it was found half full of mason's rubbish, dust, and refuse of all descriptions. The chapel had been presumably closed up for

> many years. Mr Parker was a joiner and states that he helped make the windows and doors existing in the present south wall, the openings in which were at that time closed up with masonry, there being no means of access to the chapel. (Gee 1928, 79)

I noted that there was no mention of the newel stair and that Grimm's 'entrance through a cellar' had been blocked.
I noted the Excavations by Simpson and Hatley(1953) and the making of the new way to the Keep in 1951.

The area to the west of the Chapel is under the Senate Lobby floor. It proved to be full of rubbish and sand. I began by thoroughly cleaning the area. I discovered that a portion of the original demolition deposits survived in the area and some pottery was recovered from these. A stair was uncovered descending towards the Norman Chapel area. The area under the Senate Room floor and above the Chapel could only be lightly cleaned because of the dust problem.

THE FINDS

An assortment of material was saved from the layer overlying the stone block (Plate 138), although of this material, only the pottery is really relevant. A large collection of bones, mortar fragments and some pieces of velvet have been saved and will be placed with the Fulling Mill Museum to be available for future study or reference. Of the pottery there were 7 sherds recovered during the excavation of layer 2 and a description of these sherds follows. These sherds were recovered by eye but it is expected that a larger number will be recovered when the remaining spoil is sifted, since it was excavated fairly quickly and bulkily due to circumstances of access. It has not been thought useful to illustrate the sherds here,since four are small undecorated body sherds, there is only one rim sherd and the base sherd is badly damaged by fire.

SHERD 1

Base fragment measuring 3 x 2 cm, about .5cm thick. the fabric is fairly gritty, grits of flint being visible 1mm in diameter and evenly spaced through the fabric matrix. The external face has oxidised to a dull maroon colour but is otherwise unmarked. The internal face is rough with grits visible oxidised to a light orange-brown. Fragment of large platter or jar.

SHERD 2

Elongated fragment of body sherd, 2.2 x 1.4x .7cm. A fairly gritty fabric similar to sherd 1 but with a few rough grits and not so evenly spaced. Oxidised internally to light orange but reduced externally and fabric partly vesicular.

SHERD 3

Triangular body sherd 2.5 x 2.0 x .5cm thick. A gritty fabric, oxidised almost entirely throughout with a smooth external finish, but rough internally.

SHERD 4

Triangular body sherd 3.2 x 2.1 x .2cm thick. Gritty fabric very similar to 1 and 2, oxidised on both faces. Externally, dull orange brown, smooth finish; internally light red and rougher finish.

SHERD 5

Rectangular body sherd 2.1 x 1.3 x .6cm thick. Gritty fabric with slight external oxidisation and smooth finish on both faces. Some burning to both faces suggesting cooking pot.

SHERD 6

Large base fragment 6.0 x 4.2 x .4cm thick. Gritty fabric with 2mm grits unevenly through the matrix. Internal face is smooth with slight oxidisation toa pale cream brown as well as marks of burning. External face is burnt and carbonised and mostly cracked and missing.

SHERD 7

Rim sherd, 5.7 x 3.0 x .s thick. Partly turned out rim at 120 angle to the shoulder; about .8cm turned out, suggesting a wide necked vessel. In fine sandy fabric very light orange brown in colour, some occasional large grits. The rim/shoulder join is roughly finished.

Sherds 1-4 were very similar. Sue Mills in the Department of Archaeology advised me that these sherds resembled pottery found recently at Newcastle. they were believed to have a dating span from the ninth century to the late eleventh although the upper limit had not been clearly established.

AREA lc - THE CHAPEL

In this section I intend to give brief descriptions of the walls, floor, and columns capitals in their present state.

THE WEST WALL(Elevation 22)

Little of the West wall is original except on the North side. The greater part of the wall has been refaced and thickened. Tradition has it that this thickening work was done by Salvin in the 1840's but I cannot find any authority for this, and it is not clear why Salvin would reface the wall in this way. Apart from converting the chapel into a passage way to the Keep, he appears to have done little to the interior except perhaps widen the windows on the North side.(Fordyce 1857, 244). The refacing of the west wall is well done and clearly meant to be seen. It can be seen -from a study of Elevation 22 that a break appears on the face about .8 metres or so North of the Salvin entrance, which suggests that the Salvin entrance was inserted into an already thickened wall. Thus the problem of who thickened the wall remains as does the question of why they should leave a recess at the North side. On the North side of this wall the wall has been left at its original thickness. This has been damaged by the insertion of a light in the 1950s, but the top infilling of the arch and the base seem untouched. The construction of the wall shows roughly shaped facing stones in very occasional coursing, varying from 8cm to .5 metre in length and 8cm to 25cm in height.

THE NORTH WALL(Elevation 23)

This is the earlier wall which the chapel used in its construction and which can be seen on Elevation 23. It is extremely thick, about 2-2.5 metres and is thought to represent part of the original North curtain wall of the Castle. The construction is of irregularly sized and shaped blocks of a dark grey sandstone, from 4 x 4 cm to .6 x _ size. There appears to be little attempt at coursing and generous use of mortar has occurred. The

evidence for the antecedence of the wall is that the buttresses of the chapel are clearly separate from it and have been joined to it with rubble and liberal mortar. This is best seen in the buttress on the right hand side of Elevation 22 where the join can clearly be seen. These buttresses are built of large blocks of orange-yellow sandstone(30 x 70cm), and are capped by plain imposts from which the arches supporting the quadripartite vault spring. Two window openings have been inserted in this wall and are seen in their present form, havihg been widened, probably by Salvin.(Fordyce 1857, 244). Before this they are said to have been mere "loops"(Gee 1928, 83). Traces of the widening are very clear on the splays but it is not clear that' the windows were previously very narrow. The frames and arches of the actual windows are of older worn stone, the monolithic heads having been drilled at some time but if this was to take an iron grille it should be noted there are no clear signs of attachment on the sides or base. There are two other openings in the wall; one is in the East bay and is to take a modern aumbry. The other is a low door way about 2 metres in height, its lintel a massive monolith, 1.5 metres long, .7metres high and .6metres deep.

A short passage is visible, 2 metres or so in length, its further end blocked by walling. Although popular folk legend would like to see the beginning of a tunnel running over a mile to the Kepier leper hospital, founded in Norman times, this is more likely to be a sally-port or defensive opening in the old North curtain wall. It is not known when it went out of use.

THE EAST WALL

Much of the east wall is altered - the lower half of the North bay and of the central bay being original. The construction here is similar in form to that on the North wall but here the stone is more regularly coursed and there is much less use of mortar. The upper parts of the old windows were renewed in 1953 as was the whole of the Southern bay. The window openings are plain unadorned arches without side columns or splays. The bays are divided by half-round columns both capitals being decorated, and as-in the main capitals of volute form with plain abaci. The North capital displays a

mask or face on a background of star ornament - the lower part of the capital is badly weathered and damaged (Plate 148). The South capital has heads with wide staring eyes instead of scrolls at its corners and displays a tau ornament with star background above (Plate 147). Its generally clean appearance implies, in view of the state of the other capital at this end, that it may have been "created" by the 1953 restorers.

THE SOUTH WALL

This wall has also had large amounts rebuilt or restored. It can be seen on fig. 2 there were four openings in this wall:

A door to the old Common room.

Two windows east of this.

Door to the newel stair

The Common room door and the two windows were filled in and faced flush with the South wall in the 1953 restoration so only the lunate panels at the tops of the bays can safely be judged as original, showing a similar construction to that seen at the top of the North bay of the West wall. The original dates of these openings is not known - see the History chapter and the remarks on Parker and Grose. The surviving opening is an original round headed doorway with plain jambs and voussoirs. Slight rebates can be seen at either side of the door at the spring of the arch, despite later attempts to smear them in concrete. The opening itself is squared off, the semi-circle of the arch being filled by an immense monolith of yellow orange sandstone. This opening leads to a short passage which in turn led to the beginning of the newel stair at this end of the Hall, the lower steps now being blocked off. The new entrance to the newel stair from the lower Tunstall Gallery was made in 1953 but it is not clear whether the stairs

below the hatch opening above were still blocked off at this time or not. They presumably were in Salvin's day since he could not enter the chapel that way.

THE CHAPEL FLOOR

The present floor in the chapel needs little comment. Only the central section is of original material, the North and South sections being of modern stone. This old section is construction is made of rhomboidal flat stones which are very probably co-eval with the original construction of the building.

The floor had become much worn and very uneven by the 1950s but the Castle authorities wished to preserve some part of it. Hence the floor was lifted and examined in the courtyard. The floor was then relaid in its present form using as many old intact stones as possible (Durham Colleges Gazette, No. 4, 1953) . At that time there were two raised steps at the East end of the chapel. These were certainly late additions as they obscured the lower detail of the eastern nave columns and were hence removed. There is no authority for placing the altar on a concrete plinth as it is now, much less one abysmally engraved with herring-bone lines in a pale attempt to match the floor. The original altar is more likely to have rested on the floor directly.

THE CAPITALS

The capitals have been discussed in a number of places but as I have been unable to find anywhere a full description of them, it is here included. The capitals have all been descibed in the same way, with the East face at the top of each,description and ending therefore at the North face.

NORTH EAST CAP.(Plates 151-4)

E Plain scrolled leaves.

S Scrolled leaf with 3 leaved plant

W Scrolled leaf with cat mask above

N Demon head

Also scrolled leaves below the corner volute scrolls

SOUTH EAST CAP.(Plates 149)

E scrolled leaf with 3 leaved plant

S Tree with diamond and round leaves

W Scrolled leaf and 3 leaved plant

Here there are grotesques instead

of volutes at the corners

NORTH CENTRAL (Plates 155-158)

E 7 leaved plant

S Snake on diaper or star backing.

W Quadruped sitting with legs up.

N 7 leaved plant - long palmate leaves.

NORTH WEST (Plates 167 - 170)

E Horse with saddle,body with incised diagonals,led by

S Haloed human figure holding reins and two hunting dogs in the right hand.

Horned stag with carved "breath" and incised body diagonals.

N Head with flow out of mouth, i.e. probably the wind.

SOUTH CENTRAL (Plates 159 - 162)

E Mermaid with extended arms

S Cat like quadrupeds with heads joining at the NW corner where the volute scrolls should be.

N 5 branched plant with fircone fruits.

SOUTH WEST (Plates 163-166)

E Human mask on diaper backing.

S Human mask on diaper backing.

W Fircone on diaper backing. in left hand

N Human mask on diaper backing.

The necking of this pillar is of rope ornament unlike the others which are all plain.

THE INTERPRETATION

The description of the investigation complete, I now intend to trace the evolution of this area and the chapel by the interpretation of the foregoing contexts and the proposition of some models. It seems to me that in the earliest phase there is an open courtyard on the north of the Castle, i.e. the chapel is added to an existing North wall. What is not clear is whether the Chapel Lodgings was subsequently added or built as a piece with the chapel.

The only original surviving entrance that can be identified is the small round headed door in the chapel's South wall. It may be assumed but cannot be proved that this door originally led to the Courtyard. The other door in this wall which led into the old Common room does not exhibit any features which would induce me to place it very early in the castle chronology and any western entrance there may have been to the chapel is hidden in the later thickening of the West wall.

Three things must straightway be admitted:-

1. We do not know on archaeological grounds alone that the Norman chapel room was designed as a chapel from the beginning; this assumption leads from the Laurence of Durham's reference.

2. The form of the building suggests that it had two levels. If the various stones such'as 4 and in the alcove, come from an original outside string course, it suggests that the courtyard-side walls were open i.e. the Chapel Lodgings was added later.

3. We cannot be sure that the ground floor was the main floor or focus and not subsidiary to anything above.

It is possible to suggest the Chapel Lodgings was built of a piece with the chapel; that the door entering the upper chamber through the South wall, replaces an original communication with the Chapel Lodgings and that the stair was built to give access to the lower crypt-like room before the newel stair (therefore part of the later Hall) was built. Two objections can be raised to this:-

1. If the Chapel Lodgings was built with the chapel, why wasn't it placed more flush with the West wall to provide a more convenient access to the upper chamber, or indeed the chapel placed to the South to give access from the courtyard? Of course both buildings are apparently awkwardly placed against the angle in the North curtain wall but this awkward arrangement seems to leave an unused space i.e. that in the North West corner of area 1a. Margaret Wood has suggested that the L plan of Hall and chapel or as here the corner to corner arrangement, occurs where the Hall is earlier and the chapel a later addition.(Wood 1965). Yet in this case that would mean the chapel was fitted behind the existing Hall (If we interpret the Chapel Lodgings as such). Unless of course it was not a chapel to begin with but part of an ordinary domestic range which grew organically leaving the Twelfth Century Bishops with this awkward arrangement.

2. The stair leading down to the Chapel appears to be later. Naturally it can be said that it replaces an earlier stair whose traces it has removed and this is unanswerable. If it: was inserted later, the reason would seem to be to provide access from the Chapel Lodgings's first floor to the lower level of the Chapel building at a time when the orignal access had been cut off. This wouls suggest that the old building to the south had been added to an existing chapel building, had thereby cut off access through the West wall or directly from the courtyard and the stair was to compensate for this. Yet where in this new arrangement does the South door of the Chapel fit, which appears to be in existence from the first? It would rather seem to me that the stair was to provide access to a room which was not a chapel and therefore did not need direct access. It should be noted that the stair appears to be external and it surely should have been possible to provide direct access to the Bishops' chapel without having to go outside. Unless, of course the chapel was on the first floor and the direct access to it already existed through the west door of the Upper chamber.

It would be useful to know who demolished the original buildings and refocussed the access to the upper chamber and secondly who came along later and remodelled the west entrance. Whoever did the work was ruthless, demolishing the old buildings west of the chapel to first floor level or below and building the hall over them and the demolished stair.

This sort of building work might be attributed to either Flambard or du Puiset but the archaeology does not choose between them. Nor should we forget Bishops Geoffrey Rufus and St Barbara, though History does not credit them with the same zeal for building as the first two. Even of course had Flambard built the east-west hall it is still unclear-how much du Puiset rebuilt. Without a clearer view of the external walls of the chapel building, it is not possible to know. It is possible to suggest however that Flambard did build the original East-West Hall, one of the "two great adjoining palaces" spoken of by Laurence. Shortly after the fire damaged the building extensively and du Puiset may have rebuilt it, including a remodelling of the West entrance to the upper chamber in his work and perhaps a refit to that chamber as a

chapel if one was not already there.

After this major reshuffle and alteration to the building there is no detectable or datable alteration to this area, until the building of the Senate rooms by Lord Crewe in the late seventeenth Century. This is apart from the set of sixteenth Century doors at various points in the area which appear to be added as a group. Although the exact date of the building of Tunstall's chapel is unknown, I believe that the upper chamber continued in use as a chapel until its demolition by Crewe. Although all monumental dressed stone seems to have been robbed out in the upper chapel, it is possible that the break seen on the south wall of the Upper chamber represents the infilling of an arcade or communication between the two chapels. On the North wall of the Tunstall chapel, about 60cm to 1 metre above the present panelling has been refaced with new stone in recent times. In order to understand this, it is necessary to examine a latin document of Bishop Cosin and dated 1667. (Cosin 1872). The document speaks of gifts which Cosin had made "to the recently restored chapel at Durham" and another "Minor chapel". Some authorities have argued (e.g. Boyle 1892), that since Auckland Castle chapel had recently been restored as a major work by Cosin, that the "minor chapel spoken of was the Tunstall chapel at Durham Castle. Others have seen the Major chapel as the Tunstall chapel and the "minor chapel" as the Norman chapel.

In fact the document is quite clear. In its title it speaks of "the chapels of the Bishop of Durham in our Castles at Durham *and* Auckland." In the body of the Text it speaks of gifts "which since we have set up and consecrated in our Bishops Castle of Auckland, *then* in the chapel which even lately we have restored in our Castle at Durham." (Cosin 1872; emphases mine).

Where was this chapel? The later extension to Tunstall's chapel has been ascribed either to Cosin or Crewe,(Gee 1928), but the first ascription is based on the occurence of his arms on the roof and the screen at the west end. I agree with Gee,(in R.S. Rait 1911), when he ascribes;the extension to Crewe, whose arms solely appear at the extended end. However the coats of arms taken with the reference seem to agree that it was the Tunstall chapel that Cosin restored at Durham and bar the peculiar late

thickening of the Norman chapel west wall, there no sign of extensive late restoration in that chapel.

The title of the inventory which follows the document is:-

A schedule or inventory of the vessels, books, and other ornaments for our chapels in Auckland and Durham, which as mentioned above, we are giving forever.

There then follows the second list called:-

In the Minor chapel beneath/of lesser rank in the Castle of Durham.

Item 7. is "a wind organ to be placed in the outer part of the same chapel."

Where is this chapel with an "outer part?" Two chapels may have had such a feature. The Tunstall chapel has an ante-chapel formed by the screen and the upper chamber may also have had this; the details may have been lost in the demolition. The Norman chapel from an examination of its walls, never had such a feature that we can detect. As it is likely that the Tunstall chapel quickly assumed the role of the main Castle chapel, soon after it had been built, I contend that the "minor chapel" is therefore the old upper chapel on the north side; of lesser rank it certainly was by this date.

The old upper chapel was demolished by Crewe and since by then it had only had a lesser role for over 100 years Crewe,(I assume), did not consider it worth mentioning. The old connection was filled in with rubble and left perhaps rough as the stonework which can still be seen over the cupboard at the west end of the chapel. When the Victorians came to refurbish the chapel in the late Nineteenth Century, they pulled off Crewe's panelling which they described as "mean and poor" and replaced it anew. The new panelling was too short to hide the old infill so the rough rubble was drilled out and the space refilled with fine ashlar to match the wall above.

This is largely speculation on my part but I do not believe it strains the

evidence and provides a satisfactorv explanation for the features visible in the Tunstall chapel wall. This does not, of course mean that it is the right one.

THE DISCUSSION

The original discussion in my dissertation is here summarised.

HISTORICAL

From the study-of the History as applied to the study we want to know whether it can illuminate for us:

Who built the chapel

Who demolished the early buildings and built the Hall.

For this we can accept that Walcher is our earliest possibility and we can also accept that on the grounds of the pottery, Reginald's fire, and Geoffrey's reference, Hugh du Puiset is the latest.

This gives us the following list:~

BISHOP

Walcher	1071 -1080
William St Carileph	1080 - 1096
Interregnum	1096 - 1099
Ralph Flambard	1099 - 1128

Geoffrey Rufus	1133 - 1140
Cumin the Usurper	1141 - 1143
William St Barbara	1143 - 1152
Hugh du Puiset (Du Puiset)	1153 - 1195

I will start first with the building of the chapel. It can be seen from the plans that it is on a different alignment to the Hall and it may be assumed that this is the early alignment. Its early form and simplicity incline one to the Eleventh Century rather than the Twelfth and the sculpture tends to the Eleventh so Bishops after Flambard can be left out. The Castle was constructed in 1072 according to Symeon(1885, 199-200) and has been seen the chapel was later added to the North wall. If we therefore say that the chapel dates to 1072 we must say that the wall is earlier, probably that it is pre - Conquest. Can this be shown? Ordericus Vitalis the Norman chronicler says:

"the fortresses which the Gauls call castella had been very few in the provinces of England and on this account the English although warlike and daring, had nevertheless shown themselves too feeble to withstand their enemies." (quoted in Hamilton Thompson 1912).

Ordericus was writing from the continent of course and although he names only two castles, Hereford and Clavering in Essex, there may have been others. Hamilton Thompson records that the fortress at York was left open and deserted, the Norman garrison having been advanced.(Hamilton Thompson 1912). Was Robert Cumin(1069) therefore sent to a defensible fortress which had already withstood an assault by the Danes? He may have been but this still does not prove the existence of walls. So we can assume that the chapel is some years later than the North curtain wall. In 1075

there was a Danish invasion and Lanfranc exhorted the Castle to prepare its defences. So seems little-time in which to think of building a chapel in this time of haste, but Bishop Walcher cannot entirely be ruled out.

Walcher was murdered at Gateshead in 1080 and was succeeded by William St Calais, the man who rebuilt the old Cathedral of Aldhune. He was involved in a treason plot and banished in 1083 but was restored in 1086. He began the-Cathedral rebuilding in 1093 and died in 1096. Despite his exile he had 7 free years in which to build in the Castle, so is quite a strong contender for the chapel's construction.

It is unlikely that any building work was done in the interregnum so Flambard is the last candidate. His dates really seem too late for the chapel building and I believe that the simplicity of the decoration and the architecture generally favours the earlier Bishops as I have said above. So from the History it is between Walcher and St Carileph with the latter perhaps a little strong.

ART HISTORICAL

I examined the study by Baldwin Brown (1931) and Zarnecki (1951). The early discussions suggested that although the capitals were crude they were "typically Norman."

Zarnecki paralleled the hunting scene in the Norman Chapel (Plates 167 - 170) with a modified hunt scene from st Gervaise at Falaise. The mask on stars he paralleled at la Tirnite at Caen and St Graville at St honorine although this last dated to 1100. In La Trinite also dated 1060 is a capital far more intricately carved than most so complexity is no clear guide. Brown notes that opposed facing animals were common at this time and survived into the Twelfth Century. So English Norman it seems was simple but no better or worse than elsewhere and Durham itself was not outstanding in that tradition.

The result of this examination of the Romanesque Sculpture tradition seemed to indicate the following:

1. Little early sculpture remained in England but Durham's capitals were not special or outstanding. They were in the mainstream Norman tradltion and can be paralleled in France. So people's comment on the "French" appearance of the chapel are probably justified.

2.The dating through art - style is still very uncertain in the Saxon -Norman overlap period and it seemed no-one could date the chapel very closely from them. Zarnecki's proposed date of 1072 is obviously derived from Symeon ' s reference .

However the gist of Brown and Zarnecki's remarks leads one to suspect an Eleventh Century date rather than not, and therefore here the art would seem to support the History.

STRUCTURAL PARALLELS

I examined the structural parallel at Hereford and noted that there were similarities but to create the Norman chapel one must mix elements of both floors of Hereford and modify the design overall to an axial arrangement. It can be noted that it is the upper floor at Hereford that receives more elaborate treatment and was the more important and this has implications for Durham. In the same article (Gem 1981), a parallel for Durham is drawn with the chapel in the chateal du Laval in Maine. I am very grateful to Dr. Gem for drawing my attention to this (M Pre 1961) . In fact it was a better parallel than he knew, for at that time he did not know of the secular buildings found to the west and south of the chapel at Durham, or that I was already questioning its function as such.

The first builder of the chateau at Laval was Baron Guy I 1020 1065. The chapel in the chateau ,was served according to literary evidence by a college of priests in 1158 who in 1170 were formally constituted into a chapter of canons with the provisiion of 5 priests for

Laval. The purpose of Mme Pre's article is to demonstrate that the building now

surviving as a crypt within the Chateau buildings, although later known as a chapel was at first part of the secular accomodation of an early Keep-like building such as that at Falaise or Domfront. Reading Mme Pre's article after studying Durham one has a strange sense of deja vu. At times the descriptions or sequence of development could almost have been taken whole from Durham and planted into the heart of Normandy, although my case of course is that it was the reverse that happened.

The chapel at Laval is axially arranged, situated below the level of the courtyard. It is divided into three parts, a "nave" and side aisles by 6 columnar piers built of massive stone, 2 or 3 pieces in some instances,monolithic pillars in otihers. These have matching responds on the walls but these are built of ashlar blocks and are all composed of half round columns. At the East end are three round headed splayed windows and the 3 "naves" terminate in small apses below the windows. The entrance is by steps at the South-West corner, there is a South and forming a recess. From the plan shown by Mme Pre there is a secular building to the North and to the west, but this latter is now gone. One can see that it is more spacious than the Norman chapel at Durham still remarkably similar with plain quadripartite vaulting,appparently without transverse arches ,which springs from the imposts (Plate 76).

This room/crypt has been far more altered,than the Norman chapel. The differing construction of the pillars and side respponds,appearance of older architectural elements, and two types of art sculpture on the capitals, leads Mme Pre to suggest that the building was not constructed (like the Norman chapel) in one go but transformed and modified from the earlier keep-like building.

Mme Pre says that a study of the early plans (leaving aside the thought of a "chapel"), shows the room in communication with rooms in the West building now buried under the courtyard, and others to the south, of which one finds traces and foundations in the main body of the living accomodation towards the keep. Perhaps, in a parallel to Durham's situation, she suggests that the chapel building at Laval is built onto an older wall, in this case to the south.

That is not the question here but whether there could have been a connection

with Durham and either Bishop Walcher or William St. Calais. The simple answer is yes. St Calais came from a monastery in Maine the area in which Laval is situated.

I was in Maine in November 1986 and although I did not know it I was only about forty miles from Laval. In the town where I was staying i saw a disused capital reckoned to date to about 1080. I remarked to my friend that it was remarkably like the capitals in the Norman Chapel at Durham - I did not know of the Laval parallel at that time.

Laval of course may not have been William St Calais's direct model but it is interesting to note that if it had been, then at the time that William copied it, it was still a secular building.

IN CONCLUSION

It can be seen that there are a number of options that can be chosen from the foregoing. Yet I think it beneficial to propose a model for the Castle development from the evidence available. I contend then that the likeliest builder of the chapel building was William St Calais 1080 - 1096 and that he constructed it in the 1080s, modelling it on secular accomodation that he had known in Maine from whence he had come. That it was attached to the East end of a building which was to the South and formed part of the private accomodation of the Bishops. It is impossible to say at present what function that accomodation had or whether a chapel formed a part of it. If there was a chapel in the building, then I believe that it was at first floor level, it being unusual to place a secular room over a chapel although an example occurs locally at Richmond Castle.(Wood 1965). The chapel at first though may have been elsewhere in the courtyard; foundations are shown on the early Jones plan of which the nature is not known and nothing is known of the buildings on the West side that had the present Undercroft for their basement. Although we cannot date the demolition of the buildings on the north side of the courtyard closely, I believe Ralph Flambard (1099--1128) is an acceptable candidate for this work and further study on the Hall building may confirm this early date for the Hall's foundation. Subsequently, at the time of the

fire, the Hall was rebuilt and the West wall of the upper chamber was again modified to produce a large West entrance, although it is not clear why this wall was not extended and the alcove feature left. Bishop Du Puiset is the proper candidate for this work as we know from the histories and the nature of the work, makes I believe, this connection acceptable. I further suggest that the reason Laurence singles the chapel out for mention is because, whether or not it had recently been made into a chapel or had existed in this building from its first construction, he knew that the Bishop had recently restored it in the wake of the fire.

In conclusion I suggested that the study of the Chapel had implications for the study of the North Hall and for the castle as a whole and that a larger study of the buildings was now called for.

APPENDIX O

NORTH TERRACE

INTRODUCTION

In 1992 the Castle authorities decided that enough money had accrued to the Castle Restoration Fund to begin the necessary work on the north side of the monument. The north side of the Castle is that most exposed to the weather and over the years much deterioration of the fabric has taken place. Laings were called in as contractors for the work which commenced in September of 1992. The area affected by the proposed works was on the north side of the monument, from where the curtain wall of the Castle joined the Keep, westwards to the angle tower at the junction of the Chapel Range and the twelfth-Century Bishops' Hall (Plan A.)

In October 1992 a meeting took place of the contractors, the Castle authorities, the archaeologist and other parties. At that meeting it was proposed, in the light of an examination of the wall, that a new archaeological drawing be made of the affected area, recording the major fabric breaks and the monumental features such as windows and other openings. The work was to be carried out by a single archaeologist for the most part, although occasionally an extra volunteer would be used for some parts of the work.

SUMMARY

This is the first time that an area of the Castle's fabric has been examined in detail and using archaeological methods. In the past it has been customary to label whole stretches of fabric with one date. For example the curtain wall between the Keep and Chapel Range was labelled as "an eleventh-Century wall". The new examination has revealed a far more diverse picture with many fabric overlays and complex patching.

Although a preliminary sketch, this work has yielded much information about previous restoration and building campaigns in this area of the monument. Much of the original documentation for the Castle's history has been lost and it is this kind of archaeological work which can help to reconstruct something of past works. The

work has enabled us to recover something of the sequence of wall construction and the insertion of major features such as the angle towers and minor features such as windows. Mortar analysis of samples from the various fabrics has also taken place. Fabrics which can be fairly securely dated may have a corresponding mortar, and it should be possible in the future to build up a sequence of dated mortar to use as an index for other areas of the Castle where the sequence or the chronology of fabrics is less clear.

It must be stressed that this work incorporated the first application of modern archaeological technique to the Castle fabric. It has produced much new information, but consideration also needs to be given to future works of this kind in the monument. I have therefore made some recommendations for future projects; these have been placed at the end of the report.

Thanks must go to Laings for their co-operation and support which made this project run very smoothly and easily.

BACKGROUND

The construction of Durham Castle was begun in 1072 on the orders of William the Conqueror (Symeon 1885, 199-200). The north wall of the Castle in the area proposed for restoration was hitherto believed to be largely part of the original 11th-Century curtain wall. From the fourteenth-Century Keep, which was restored by Anthony Salvin in 1846, the curtain wall descends to the west. In this area of the face, two openings are evident, somewhat decayed. The central part of the area undergoing work has been altered by the addition of the Junction buildings, in 1846, which are adjacent to the south. The western third of the area is occupied by the building housing the Senate Rooms and the Norman Chapel of the eleventh century. This part of the wall was altered by the creation of the Senate Rooms, out of the existing arrangements, in the seventeenth century (Gee 1928, 89).

There have also been constructions added to the wall. These include the angle towers believed to been added either by King John (1208-1217) or by Bishop Hatfield (1345-1381). Unfortunately, the lack of any datable monumental features on either of these towers leaves the alternatives open. Another feature, on the face of the Chapel Range, is the so-called "Hanging" tower. A small, square mural tower, it has only two openings on its north face. One is too decayed to suggest any certain date. The other has been greatly restored but appears to be post-medieval in date.

Documentation for past works and building campaigns on the Castle is greatly lacking. Records of the Bishops' works were not well organised and much has been destroyed through carelessness and accident, and in a few cases deliberately. Archaeological recording in detail of ancient fabric and its features can help to restore some of this lost information and thus allow us to rebuild a picture of the Castle's development.

The area of the wall proposed for restoration is north facing. Due to its geographical position as described above, this face of the Castle receives the worst weather. The weathering and destruction of finer detail on this side of the monument has thus been extensive. The deterioration of the north wall has rendered restoration

of the fabric necessary and archaeological recording of the wall's features before they are confused or obliterated by the restoration is essential.

METHOD

On the 6th and 7th of October 1992 the author examined the scaffolded area and made some preliminary measurements. It became clear that the architect's drawings which had been supplied were inadequate as frameworks into which the archaeological measurements could be fitted. It should be stressed that Mr. Jones (the architect) had only regarded his drawings as diagrammatic representations of the north wall area. They were not intended to be accurate scale drawings.

After consultation with Dr. Martin Millett at the Department of Archaeology, it was decided that the quickest and most archaeologically efficient way of proceeding would be to produce a new archaeological survey drawing from scratch recording the major features of the wall.

On the following day, this was proposed at a meeting with the developers, including Mr. Martin Roberts from the City council and Mr. Niall Hammond the County Archaeologist. Mr Jones also attended and Wing-Commander Cartmell represented the Castle Trustees. All parties were in broad agreement with the archaeological proposal.

A base line was established at the top of the wall face in relation to the parapet and subsequent base lines were established down the wall face roughly at 2m. intervals. Nails and other devices securing strings etc. to the wall were only inserted in those portions of the fabric already marked for restoration, or in places where it was felt the least damage would be done to the inherent structure of the wall. This necessarily meant that the 2m. division was not strictly adhered to but was rather used as a rough guide. Monumental features such as windows, and other openings, and string courses were measured in first. Then, as far as they could be detected, breaks or uncomformities in the fabric were measured on and traced as far as possible from level to level. This did not always prove possible; the upper and/or lower vertical limits of

some fabric breaks were obscured by later patching that had ignored the coursing of the wall, or by major features which cut across them. Also recorded were the patches of fabric which had been removed by workmen in order to fill them with new stone. Some of these had been filled already before the archaeologist arrived on site, but the outlines could still be recorded.

It was originally decided to draw the fabric at least one stone's width to either side of a fabric break, or around a monumental feature. In the event, some experiments with this technique showed that it yielded very little archaeological information in terms of the hours spent on it and the idea was abandoned.

There had clearly been a recent campaign of patching, evidenced by very new machine-cut stone which appeared on various parts of the wall. It was suspected that these were restored in the 1930s when much major restoration work took place on the castle as a whole. It was felt to be useful to record these patches on the plan to compare the two campaigns - 1930s and now - and perhaps to glean an understanding of the deterioration patterns on the wall.

The restoration specifications inevitably changed and evolved as the work of restoration was carried out, in order to adapt to the reality of the state of the fabric. As work progressed, some areas were found to be in a much worse state of deterioration than had been suspected. Extra areas were thus marked for restoration and the archaeological recording was updated to take account of this.

RESULTS

Overall the results have indicated the complexity of the fabric construction at this monument (See Elevation 18). This might well have been expected from our knowledge of other medieval buildings but this is the first time it has been clearly demonstrated at the Castle.

While a richer detail has been gathered during this work, it has also highlighted the problems of trying to determine a structural sequence using a single small sample area. Inevitably our understanding of the Castle's development must rest on

understanding the monument as a whole. With the lack of documentation, constructional development in any area of the Castle is dependent on what occurs in other areas, both at the time and in the preceding periods.

One primary result of the work is to suggest that the problem of dating the various Castle structures should be approached with greater care than previously. The wall running between the Keep and the Chapel Range has been hitherto labelled as eleventh-Century (Gee 1928). Even the fairly simplistic analysis of the recent work has revealed the wall to be a complex series of constructional patching and insertion. While there may well be original eleventh-Century fabric remaining in some areas the wall is actually a bewildering patchwork quilt of many periods of work. Some areas of fabric can be dated by the monumental features appearing in, and contiguous with, the fabric as a whole. An example of this is the upper part of the Chapel Range, on either side of, and adjacent to, the Hanging Tower. The windows in this part of the wall have a clear post-medieval form which would generally be ascribed to the late seventeenth century or the early eighteenth century. It should be noted that dating only applies to the facing of the wall. The interior rubble of the wall is presumably still in its relatively chaotic eleventh or twelfth-Century state.

MAIN FEATURES

While it is probably too early to attempt to fit the features recorded on the wall into any kind of major constructional framework, it is useful to review what was seen. This description will briefly cover those features in order, moving from the junction with the Keep wall, westwards to the angle tower at the east end of the twelfth century North Hall.

The first section is between the Keep and the first Angle Tower. The most obvious features in this section are the two ragged openings. The larger of the two, although worn, may have had a cruciform shape originally. On the internal face of the wall, (i.e. within the junction buildings) there is an old arch, perhaps of fourteenth-Century form, more or less at the back of the opening. It is therefore possible that the

opening was inserted through the wall to provide a defensive arrow loop. Fragments of a fabric break are visible at the base of the wall just to the east of the opening. Further to the west a more major fabric break was detected, associated with the lower and smaller of the two openings. This lower opening may have been a *garderobe* shaft exit perhaps serving a *garderobe* located within the same narrow passage as the arrow loop mentioned above. It is known that Bishop Hatfield (1345-1381) was responsible for a general strengthening of the Castle and these works would fit in well with his recorded work on the Castle Keep which he rebuilt (Raine 1839, 138).

The first Angle Tower is devoid of features and with its partner further to the east, remains undated. There are two likely possibilities. The first is that they were part of the works recorded in the Pipe Rolls as ascribed to King John who held the Castle between 1208 and 1217. The second is that they are also part of the general strengthening works of Bishop Hatfield as mentioned above. The fabric on the face of the tower is quite distinctive with very long shallow blocks of stone, up to 1m. in length, in a white lime mortar. Dr. Eric Cambridge, who visited the site, kindly suggested that it was fairly characteristic fabric of the thirteenth century which would seem to place it within King John's tenure of the Castle. Given the lack of documentation, it is difficult to be categorical about this; other Bishops may have commissioned the work with no account surviving.

Between the angle tower and the wide buttress are a number of features. A major break can be seen in the fabric running the full vertical height of the building. About two thirds of the way up a short "floating" break can also be seen; this is at present unattributable to period. The fabric to the west of the major break is ancient with much use of small rubble blocks and irregular coursing. This part of the building is the old Chapel Range whose base dates from the eleventh century and whose upper storey may have the same date but certainly does not date later than the early twelfth century (See Chapter 5, pages 125 - 129). The implications of this break are less clear. It may suggest that the whole wall between the Keep and this point has been rebuilt at a date subsequent to the eleventh century. More likely it represents the break caused

by the insertion of the angle tower. However, the fabric to the east of the major break is not that similar to that seen on the face of the tower and the short floating break suggests that there has been other rebuilding in this area.

The area between the major break and the wide buttress appears to be one build - that in the early fabric described above. The two upper windows are in gothic style and were undoubtedly inserted when Salvin remodelled the Junction area to provide accommodation for the new University in 1846 (pages 36 and 131). The lower window is one of the plain seventeenth or eighteenth-Century windows inserted in the creation of the State Rooms which lie behind. Immediately below its bottom left corner a fragment of an old exit can be seen. This would have given onto that room often depicted with a sloping roof in early paintings of the Castle and situated immediately adjacent to the old Chapel Range. Beyond this it is not possible at the present time to speculate.

The final stretch is that of the old Chapel Range and includes the so-called "Hanging Tower". The windows of the Norman Chapel are visible at the base of the wall and above them the two seventeenth-Century windows of the State room. Two further windows above these also appear of seventeenth-Century date and were probably inserted at the time of the general State Room re-organisation in the seventeenth century. A fragmentary survival to the east of the easternmost of these upper windows attests the existence of a late medieval arch. Only two or three stones are left to show the spring of the arch whose purpose is unknown but may reflect earlier window arrangements for the upper storey of the Chapel Range. Below this a patch in a greener sandstone shows where a late window, probably nineteenth-Century, was inserted to light the bathroom at this level.

Fabric unconformities on both sides of the "Hanging Tower" show where it was inserted and the fabric to the west of the tower shows signs of having been savagely cut back to accommodate the insertion. Local tradition believed that the Bishops hung their prisoners in this tower but an examination of the joints and the fabric suggest that it is actually quite late. Its position is immediately at the back of the

fireplace in the State room and it was very likely inserted to serve as a chimney flue; less romantic but entirely practical.

RECOMMENDATIONS

This work has clearly shown the wealth of detail that can be gleaned from a closer look at the Castle's structure and fabric. It has also outlined ways of approaching this kind of work in the future.

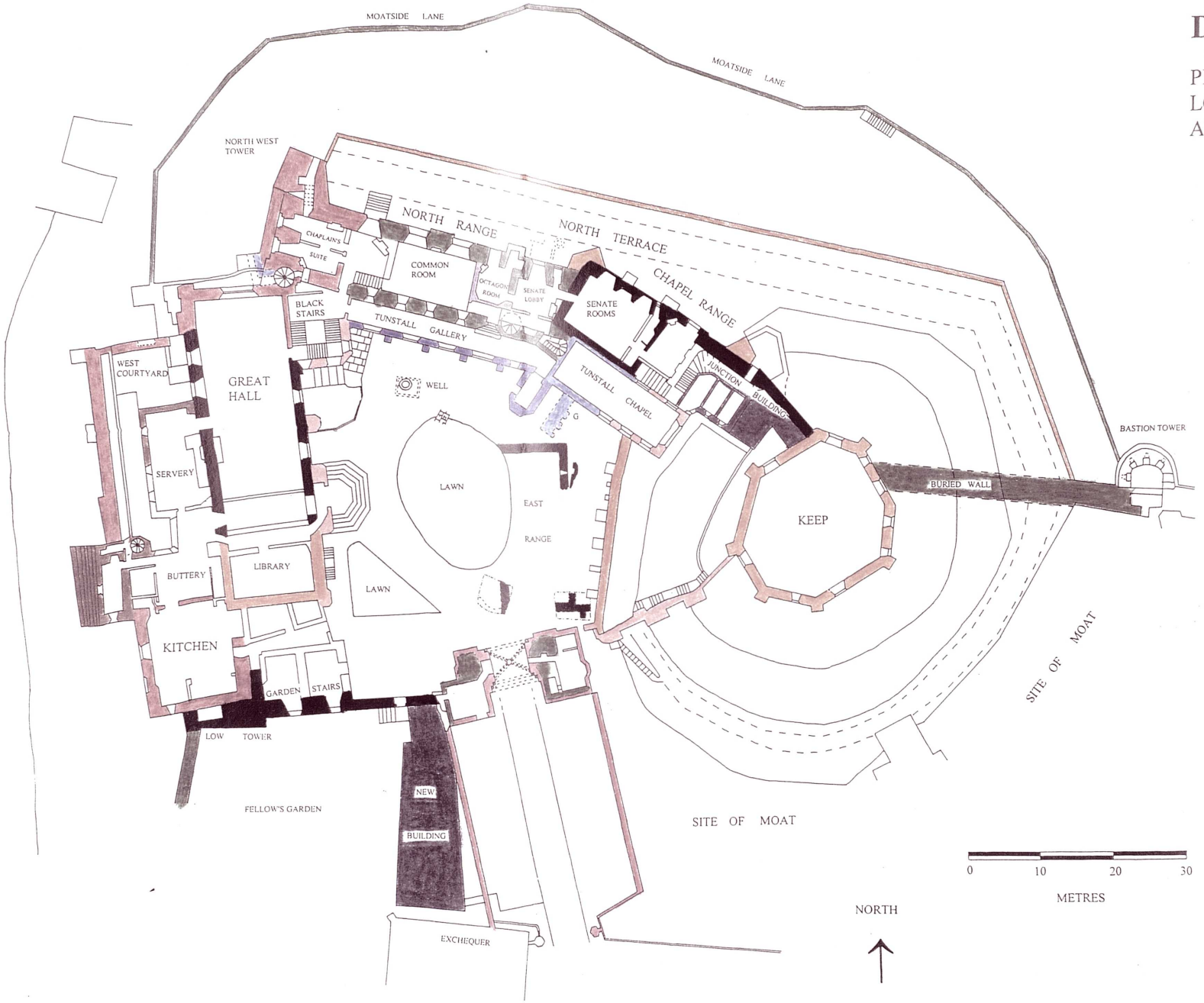
In this instance the archaeologist was called in fairly late in the restoration process and thus had to organise his work and research design around what was already in place and happening. It must be recognised that this kind of approach is inadequate and should be replaced by a more integrated one where the archaeologist, like the planners, contractors, and so forth, is called before any work takes place. This enables a project design to set up in advance of work resulting in an optimisation of recording techniques and often in less conflict between the archaeologists and the contractors' programmes of work.

This work also pointed to the need for a more detailed recording method. In most projects of this kind elsewhere in the country, stone by stone recording of standing masonry is taken as a basic fundamental of the recording process. Due to the late start and the pressure of time and lack of money, it was decided in this instance to go for a lesser grade of recording strategy. During the archaeological process, however, it became clear that a much greater amount of information would have been extracted if the "stone by stone" method had been employed. Some of the problems of interpreting the results would undoubtedly be much reduced if the fabric could be considered as a whole rather than a series of unconnected major features and fabric breaks. In view of the general deterioration of the Castle, future restoration work in other areas is inevitable. Consultation is recommended between the Castle authorities and the archaeologists in order to determine priority areas both of restoration and of recording. If archaeological questions can be framed in advance and areas targeted for work, a great deal of work and time will be saved later on.

Thought must also be given to the presentation of results. Ideally anyone approaching the report would wish to view fabric photographs at the same time as reading the interpretative text, while being able to review the graphical breakdown of the mortar analysis. The tools for this process already exist in the form of the modern multimedia environment. It is also highly recommended that future recording be undertaken with a view to preparing a final archive in this form. Not only does it present the work in a form accessible even to the general public but in the professional form which one would hope to see employed in a World Heritage monument of the stature of Durham Castle.

DURHAM CASTLE

PHASE PLAN I
LOWER PARTS OF WALLS AND BUILDINGS

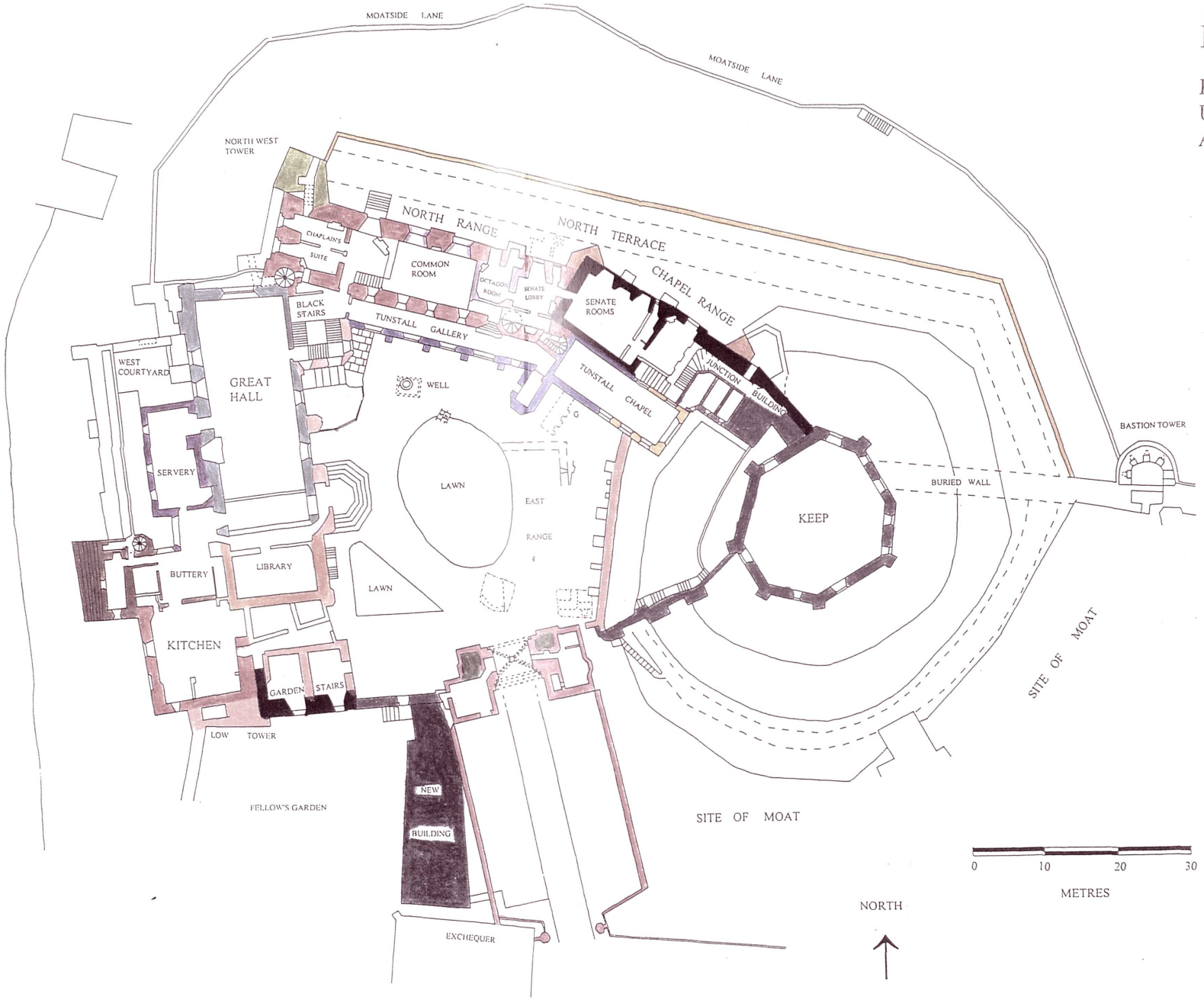


- WALCHER (1071-1080)
- ST. CALAIS (1080-1096)
- FLAMBARD (1099-1128)
- DU PUISET (1153-1195)
- KING JOHN (1208-1217)
- BEK (1284-1311)
- HATFIELD (1345-1381)
- FOX (1494-1501)
- TUNSTALL (1530-1559)
- COSIN (1660-1672)
- CREWE (1674-1721)
- BUTLER (1750-1752)
- TREVOR (1752-1771)
- BARRINGTON (1791-1826)
- UNIVERSITY 1836-PRESENT)
- UNKNOWN

N.B. The vertical division between "Upper" and lower is not at any particular level in any particular building but is intended to illustrate the dating difference in the vertical elevation.

DURHAM CASTLE

PHASE PLAN II
UPPER PARTS OF WALLS AND BUILDINGS



- WALCHER (1071-1080)
- ST. CALAIS (1080-1096)
- FLAMBARD (1099-1128)
- DU PUISET (1153-1195)
- KING JOHN (1208-1217)
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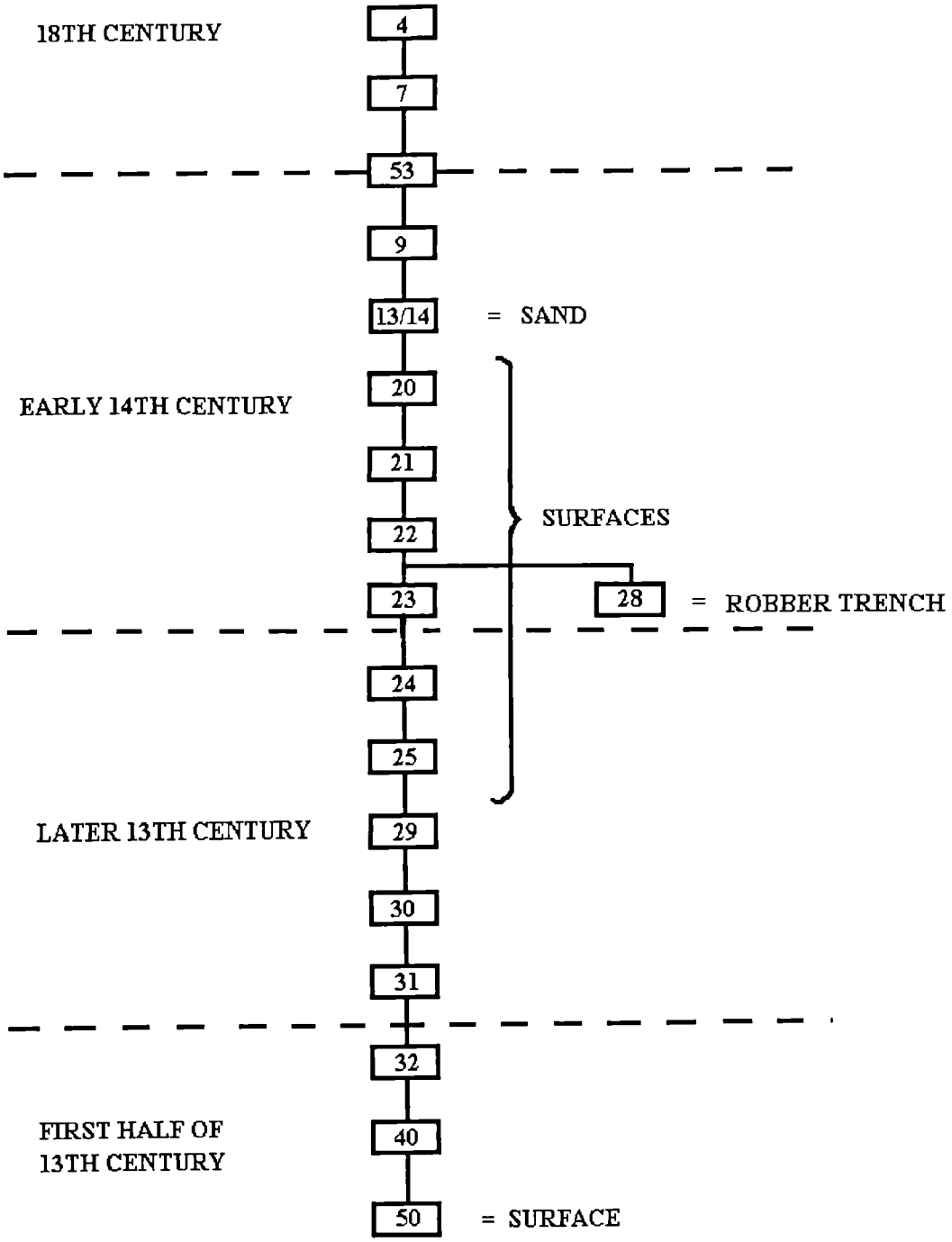

SIMPLIFIED MATRIX OF CONTEXTS
DATED BY POTTERY CONTENT

SUPPLEMENT TO APPENDIX L
PROVISIONAL POTTERY REPORT

Summary

West Side	50, 40, 32: first half 13th c ? 31-24: later 13th c ? 23-9: probably early 14th c 7 & 4: 18th c
East Side	28, 83, 77: probably early 14th c 98: joins 31 possibly related ? 35: late 13th/14th c + 18th c pottery

Spoil
West side: late 13th/early 14th and 18th c pottery.
East side: 2 early (possibly 12th or early 13th c) cooking pot rims 13th/14th c, and 18th/19th pottery.

1. West Side

50

EIR/BO	Rim fragment, squared section unglazed. Buff fabric with orange/buff margins light grey core. Moderate coarse temper. Fairly soft. 13th c ?
EGR/R/C	Base (probably cooking pot). Mid grey hard fabric with dark buff surfaces. 13th c.

40 Whole group probably 13th c rather than early 14th c.

EBW/D	3 fragments unglazed ext. sooted, abundant medium/coarse temper (quartz, iron oxide) 1 fragment very similar fabric ext. green glaze.
EBW/B	1 fragment base E9 type unglazed 2 unglazed pink/buff fabric moderate coarse temper.
EIR/BO	1 fragment unglazed abundant temper.

ERG/E 4 fragments with pale buff int. surface. Moderate medium/coarse quartz.

32 Probably still a 13th c group.

EBW/D	fragment base ext. sooted. 4 other fragments
EBW/B	Rim fragment. square collared rim form, probably jug; splashed glaze 4 other glazed fragments. 3 unglazed (1 ext-sooted) All moderate to abundant quartz temper (medium/coarse). Like "average buff" wares from Queen's Court.
EIR/BGP	1 unglazed fragment. moderate coarse quartz temper.

31 Group some what later than 50, 32? late 13th c?

EBW/D 2 fragments same vessel, ext. splash glaze

EBW/B Lid seated jug? rim fragment
9 fragments ext. splash glazed
1 unglazed fragment.
Abundant or moderate medium quartz temper.

EIR/BGP 15 fragments. some joining, same vessel. ext. splashed glazed; 1 ext. applied roundel. Similar to Queen's Court BGP (T14)

ERG/E Rod handle fragment. grey.black abundantly tempered fabric splash glazed 13th c (probably early)
3 fragments more sparsely tempered fabrics; ext. splash glazed could be early 14th c.

EGR/R mid grey hard fabric, dark buff ext. surface abundant quartz temper. 13th c.

30
EBW/B 2 fragments splash glazed.
1 chip probably this type.

EIR/BO Base fragment + 2nd fragment same vessel, mid grey fabric average/buff margins; splash glazed.
2 fully oxidised fragments ext. glazed.
All abundant medium/fine quartz temper.

EIR/DGP fragment grey/black moderate temper; ext.brown glaze + scratch dec., int. pink/buff margin.

EIR/BGP? 2 chips similar Queen's Court BCP ext-splashed glaze.

EGR/R 1 unglazed fragment mid grey coarse tempered fabric w. buff surfaces.

29
EIR/BGP Rim fragment unglazed cooking pot? slight ext. sooting.
Fabric same as Queen's Court.

25
EIR/BO 2 fragments splash glaze, abundant fine temper

24 Nothing necessarily later than 13th c.
EBW/B 6 fragments, some splash glazed

EIR/BGP 2 fragments as Queen's Court T14

EIR/BO 3 fragments

ERG/E 8 fragments same vessel fully reduced fabric but similar to the BGP fragments.
8 other fragments fine tempered wares.

EGR/R Unglazed hard light grey fabric w. grey/black surfaces, coarse quartz-tempered.

23
EBW/B 2 small ext. glazed fragments.

EIR/BO 1 fine tempered ext. splash glazed

ERG/E 3 fine tempered wares, 1 int + ext. glazed.

22
EBW/B fragment strap handle-4 other fragments w. reduced core, patchy ext. glaze. Moderate temper, medium or fine.

EIR/BO 1 fragment fine temper

EIR/BUP? 4 chips (including a rim) possibly Queen's Court T14

21
ERG/E Base of strap handle + 5 other fragments. (1 vessel) over-fired fine tempered mid grey fabric. Fairly extensive splash glazing
1 other fragment.

EIR/BO chip unglazed.

20
ERG/E 3 fragments same vessel as in 21
4 fragments representing 3 vessels

13/14
ERG/E 1 fragment

9
ERG/E 1 fragment

N.B. Contexts 23-9 probably early 14th c.

7
ERE/L? B 5 chips blackware

ETG/L fragment base + foot ring int/ext. tin glaze

4
EBW/B 1 chip

ERE/E 1 fragment

2. <u>East Side</u>

28 Group probably early 14th c.
ERG/E 4 fragments
1 chip

EBW/B 2 fragments

EIR/NL? Orange buff fabric with occ. white inclusions, iron oxide & moderate fine quartz. Unglazed; probably jug rim fragment.

83

EBW/B 1 fragment ext. glazed

EIR/BO small rod handle
2 other fragments abundant temper largely reduced, splash glazed.

77

EBW/B Rod handle fragment reduced core. Abundant quartz temper, splash glaze.

3. Unidentified contexts + unstratified

98

EBW/B 2 fragments

ERG/E 2 fragments

EIR/BGP 2 fragments same vessel as 15 fragments in 31.

35 med pot: late 13th / early 14th c; post-med pottery 18th c.

EBW/B 15 fragments (including 1 jug rim, 3 handle fragments)

EIR/BO 26 fragments rep. max 10 vessels

EBW/D 2 fragments same vessel.

ERG/E 12 fragments (including 1 small rod handle fragment + fragment strap handle)

ETV/? 13 fragments (including orange/buff white/pink fabrics.

ERE/LST 3 fragments same vessel + 4 plain fragments also same vessel.

ERE/LSC 1 fragment

ERE/L 2 glazed fragments, 2 chips.

EWE/C 9 chips

ETG/L 4 fragments full int ext. tin glaze.

SES/WS 3 chips

EWE int yellow glazed flatware with brown stain.

4. Spoil West Side

EGR/BB ? Cooking pot rim and upper body fragment. Reduced fabric but similar BB.

EBW/D cooking pot rim fragment
1 other fragment.

EBW/B 10 fragments
twisted rod handle fragment, mainly reduced.

EIR/BO 3 fragments
EIR/BGG 5 fragments (4 vessels)
EIR/DGP 1 rim fragment jug, brown glazed
ETV/? 2 handle fragments
5 other fragments
ERG/E 3 fragments
ERG/T 2 fragments + base fragment
EWE/C 4 chips
ERE/L? Dark brown ext. glaze, inner surface chipped.

5. East side spoil

EBW/B 6 fragments
EBW/D 1 fragment ext glazed.
EIR/BO 4 fragments
ERG/E 13 fragments
UK/E pink fabric moderate temper - Rim yellow glazed.
chip brown glazed.
ERE/MSC Rim fragment
EWE/C 5 chips
ETG/L 3 fragments full tin glaze
EWE/WGT fragment willow pattern.

DURHAM CASTLE MAIN PLAN

PLAN A INNER BAILEY

MOATSIDE LANE

MOATSIDE LANE

CARVER 1979

NORTH WEST TOWER

NORTH RANGE

NORTH TERRACE

CHAPEL RANGE

CHAPLAIN'S SUITE

COMMON ROOM

OCTAGON ROOM

SENATE LOBBY

SENATE ROOMS

BLACK STAIRS

TUNSTALL GALLERY

TUNSTALL CHAPEL

JUNCTION BUILDING

BASTION TOWER

WEST COURTYARD

GREAT HALL

WELL

G

SERVERY

JONES A

LAWN

EAST RANGE (Site of)

KEEP

BURIED WALL

BUTTERY

LIBRARY

LAWN

DC 91 A

JONES B

KITCHEN

GARDEN

STAIRS

GATE HOUSE

SITE OF MOAT

NORTH

LOW TOWER

FELLOW'S GARDEN

NEW BUILDING

BARBICAN

SITE OF MOAT

EXCHEQUER

0 10 20 30

METRES

AREA OF EXCAVATION

N.B. The east lawn and the limits of the "Jones A" trench have been left off in order not to obscure the detail in that area of the Courtyard. "CARVER 1979; DC 91 A; JONES A and JONES B are all previous excavations. These are referred to in Chapter 1.